New Republic

MARCH 15, 1948

MAR 11 1948

Aid to Peace . . . ERP or Road to War?

- **WHERE THE MONEY WILL GO**
  By BARBARA WOOTTON
- **REPORTS FROM:**
  LONDON • PARIS • ROME
- **HOW SHOULD CONGRESS VOTE?**
  By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

15¢

THE CONDON CASE –By HENRY WALLACE

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Five political prisoners deny themselves food . . .
that you may never eat the bitter bread of Fascist enslavement

On March first a group of men, held on Ellis Island under "protective arrest," struck a courageous blow in defense of the Bill of Rights. They began a HUNGER STRIKE against detention without bail in Tom Clark's concentration camp.

These men, torn from their homes, their wives, and their American-born children are Ferdinand Smith, national secretary of the National Maritime Union and an outstanding leader of the Negro people; John Williamson, trade union secretary of the Communist Party; Charles Doyle, vice president of the CIO, Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers; Irving Potash,* manager of the CIO Furriers Joint Council, and Gerhart Eisler, German anti-Nazi and veteran of the Spanish Civil War.

This is how they put their case—and yours—to the Attorney General:

"Mr. Clark, if you are permitted to imprison people like us and deny us our freedom on bail because we oppose and expose your Administration's program of war, imperialist aggression, anti-labor legislation and destruction of civil rights —then no one in America is safe. . . .

"This is not an issue of Communism. This is not even the question of the alleged and false charges that we were arrested on. It is today the single and simple issue of the denial of our Constitutional and elementary human right to go free on reasonable bail."

Will you help win this hunger strike for freedom?
There is much that you can do . . .

William Z. Foster, Chairman
Communist Party

35 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

I enclose my contribution to the fund to help free the Ellis Island hunger strikers. Please send me more information about these cases. Please send me information on the program of the Communist Party.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

ACT TODAY — for the days are long to men who go without food • Organize or join delegations to visit the Attorney General and President Truman • Write or wire them demanding the immediate release on bail of these five men • Put your organization on record for their release • Speak to your fellow citizens and the government through mass actions, public meetings and picket lines • Call upon every civic, religious and political leader in your community and insist that they defend the Bill of Rights by speaking out for the immediate release of these men on bail.

COMMUNIST PARTY

William Z. Foster, chairman — Eugene Dennis, general secretary

* Has just been released on $5,000 bail.

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1948, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

SPEED, SPEED, SPEED! urged Secretary Marshall. Yet Congress dawdled on the Marshall Plan. There was no doubt international tension was mounting. The black-out in Czechoslovakia and the pressure on Finland had evoked deep emotional responses in Congress. Even so, the Senate could not hurry. With a comic mixture of shock and distaste, GOP isolationist floor leader Wherry of Nebraska suddenly learned that ERP proposes revival of East-West trade in Europe. Secretary Marshall had urged trade revival with Russia from the start. But nine months later the discovery came like a bombshell to Wherry.

Newspaper reporters spoke of the "historic debate." Actually most Senators stayed away. They did not want to see Wherry thrash his arms over trade with Russia. Maybe even the GOP was a little ashamed of this merry mortician, who is acting leader and chief ERP opponent. Besides, everybody knew an avalanche of votes was waiting to put ERP over, once the dreary speeches ended.

Italy crucial. Some spokesmen here believe the Italian election, April 18, is more important to the United States than the American election, November 2. Communists have some chance of getting 40 percent of the vote and may emerge as the largest single party. As such, under continental European practice, they would be entitled to representation, even majority representation, in the Italian cabinet. If so, where would that leave us?

Biggest smear. The Un-American Activities Committee saw its chance to whip the new emotion into hysteria. Last year it got a $100,000 appropriation. Now it seeks $200,000. It distrusts in its heart all atomic scientists. Suddenly it pounced on Bureau of Standards chief, Dr. Condon. He is the biggest man it has tried to drag down so far, and without evidence, without trial, without support, it smeared his name, sowing suspicion, broadcasting confusion, playing at every step into the joyous hands of the Communists.

The Thomas committee room is patriotic. There are pictures of Washington, Hamilton, Lincoln, Franklin (not Jefferson). There is a reverent reproduction of the Marines raising the flag at Okinawa. Behind the committee are massed standards of the armed services. All the chamber needs is background music softly playing "God Bless America."

The committee dais, in horseshoe shape, is of cheap sheathing, an improvised affair, painted with the kind of varnish known to the trade as "toilet-seat mahogany." Its obvious newness has a kind of drumhead-court-martial quality. Six cops stand around. A series of glittering glass tumblers, artistically grouped about frosted pitchers, surmount the inquisitors' horseshoe. They form a definite part of the decoration. The room is light, airy, hygienic.

It is here that Rankin roars at civil-rights witnesses, "Yauh defyin' Congress, suh!"; that strawberry-faced Thomas pounds his fist; and sallow-skinned Stripling interrogates. It is here that wryly grinning reporters, at the desks below, pass obscene notes to each other about the committee. Yes, this is it, the place where that queer substance "loyalty" is finally assayed, a nightmare scene—with flags; as indigenous as the ice water in the frosted pitchers. If Hitlerism ever reaches America, it will look like this.

Election notes. Dewey had a sure-fire set-up in the New Hampshire primary. His supporters look for the psychological benefit of subsequent primaries in Wisconsin and Nebraska;

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SPRINGTIME IN EUROPE . . .
what's going to happen—and why?

- Who will win the all-important elections in Italy in April? The Communist-Socialist bloc or the State Department-backed Christian Democrats? If the left-wing bloc wins, will America continue sending ERP aid to Italy?
- Will General de Gaulle take over France this spring? What will the French Communists do? Is there really a Third Force in France capable of leading France to recovery under parliamentary government?
- What will be the next step of the USSR in Eastern Europe? How will America act in Western Germany, in Greece? What is the real impact of America in Europe? Will the ERP be the means of reuniting Europe, or will it be the means of further dividing Europe and opposing Socialism?
- Will there be a federation of Western Europe this year?

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New Republic

actually, they don't mean much, but they sound important.

Word from Ohio is that Stassen is making real inroads into Taft strength and may get six, eight or even more delegates. Stassen forces appear to be supremely confident. A bad defeat in his home state might cripple the Taft candidacy for keeps.

Meanwhile, the House Judiciary Subcommittee has unanimously recommended a long-desired reform, through a constitutional amendment. Presidents would be elected by direct, popular vote, not the archaic Electoral College method of distribution by states. The amendment couldn't go through in time for this election. But it's needed. It would help to reëstablish a two-party system in the South by giving Republican votes actual value.

Grab bag cont'd. Some of the things Big Business is trying to get Congress to do are almost unbelievable; not less unbelievable is that Congress is doing them. Oil interests, operating on Congress through state lobbies, are trying to grab tideland oil rights, over a Supreme Court decision saying that these belong to the taxpayers. Steel interests are tenaciously defending their grab for higher prices, though this is so flagrant that even Taft complained mildly at last week's hearings.

The cheeky Commonwealth & Southern power trust has a grab: a bill allowing it to control and operate the federally built Clark's Hill, Georgia, power project. Circumventing another Supreme Court decision, wealthy publishers, cannery owners and certain other employers are backing the Gearhart bill (already passed by the House) depriving certain categories of workers—some 750,000 poor devils—from social-security unemployment and old-age-pension benefits. Last week we mentioned the Rizley-Moore bill, or natural-gas grab. Few voices are lifted against these shocking proposals. It's a reactionary Congress, so what can you do? After next November, it may be worse.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 11, ISSUE 1737, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 15, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

ALLIANCE IN THE WEST

In the world's lexicon, Western Union soon will take on a meaning quite unrelated to telegrams. Western Union is the name for the new anti-Soviet alliance of Western nations which is taking on a formal, military shape much more rapidly than most people realize.

At first glance, Western Union appears to be a purely European movement, centering now in the five-nation meeting in Brussels. Actually, impetus for the new alliance is coming principally from Washington, which prefers, for the moment, an inconspicuous role.

So Britain is carrying the ball at Brussels, where the representatives of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg are laying the groundwork with the British for an alliance designed to include all nations outside the Soviet orbit.

The State Department policy is to have nothing to do with Western Union, on the surface, so that it will seem to be a purely European search for security. A similar policy was followed regarding last summer's conference of the 16 Marshall Plan nations in Paris. Once the Europeans had determined their needs, they turned to the US to state their case and ask for help.

After Paris, the request was for economic help. After an alliance is formed in Brussels or at subsequent meetings, the request to the US will be for military assistance.

The Brussels meeting was called in response to British Foreign Secretary Bevin's speech on January 22, but demands for a Western Union had been made publicly in Washington by Bernard Baruch on January 19 and by John Foster Dulles on January 20. And, of course, as long ago as March, 1946, by Winston Churchill in Fulton, Missouri.

The State Department might be willing to give its support to Western Union more openly were it not for the compelling urgency that the department attaches to the adoption of the European Recovery Program before the Italian elections next month. Discussion of so grave a step as a formal anti-Soviet alliance would greatly prolong congressional debate at this time, and the practical mind of Secretary Marshall sees that ERP must come first.

After the Italian elections show how fast the tide is running, will be the time for Western Union, with all its frightening implications, to be brought forward for public discussion.

Plot?

KANSAS CITY (NR correspondent)

HARD-BOILED professional Republican politicians in this part of the world believe there is a Taft-Bricker plot aimed at preventing Dewey from getting the presidential nomination.

They say that if a deadlock develops in the convention between Taft and Dewey, Taft has agreed to throw his support to Bricker. It is part of the bargain, according to this gossip, that Taft would be the power behind the throne in the Bricker administration, determining all major domestic and foreign policies.

MARSHALL PLAN CHANCES

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R, Mich.) is still confident that the European Recovery Program will be passed by the Senate by the middle of this month. More cautious supporters think that the agitation for immediate military aid to China, Greece and Turkey and the restrictive amendments which Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R, Nebr.)

DRAWING BY SHARP

and others are pushing may delay passage until closer to April 1.

But a careful private count shows excellent chances for approval of ERP in the Upper House in much the form Vandenberg has proposed. Fifty-seven Senators seem to be for the Vandenberg version—39 Democrats and 18 Republicans. Thirty-nine Senators may work to amend or cut down ERP. Of these, 33 are Republicans and six are Democrats, including Glen H. Taylor (D, Idaho).

It is in the House, where committee hearings continue, that the real danger to ERP now lies. Only 111 Representatives are certain to support an ERP as strong as Vandenberg proposes. Another 154, mostly conservative isolationists, are known to be unfriendly to Vandenberg's bill.

Critics of ERP from the Left seem to have made few or no converts

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DRAWING BY SNYDER

among House progressives. Of those Representatives who scored 70 percent or better in the *New Republic's* last voting chart, 69 have indicated in pre-vote surveys that they are likely or certain to vote for ERP. Seven aren't sure what they will do, but only four of them lean toward opposition.

Unless it is pushed violently, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs is not likely to bring an ERP bill into the House before April 1. The determined obstructionists there will hold up the program as long as possible. But if the Senate has completed its part of the job by April 1, public opinion should then be strong enough, Administration leaders believe, to force House action and final passage of ERP in reasonably short order.

AIR POWER AGAIN

For the second time in recent weeks, an organ of the government has rebuked the Joint Chiefs of Staff for not yet agreeing upon a unified military strategy for defense of the US. First, the President's Finletter Commission on Air Policy and now the Congressional Aviation Policy Board have found their work hampered by the failure of the Joint Chiefs.

The congressional board, under the chairmanship of Senator Owen Brewster (R, Maine), went on, however, to write an exhaustive, 92-point program for developing a coherent national air policy with special emphasis on civilian aspects.

Though lacking the political scope of the Finletter document, "Survival in the Air Age," the congressional report has brought forward some sharp recommendations for reforming aeronautical administration within the government. Principally, the report urged that the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) be given independence comparable with that enjoyed by the Interstate Commerce and the Federal Communications Commissions. This would restrict the Civil Aeronautics Commission chiefly to the administration of the Federal Airways Service and the Federal Airport Act.

In the military field the report, without expanding on it, made one suggestion which may contain the germ of a plan for developing a large-scale air force in peacetime without stocking up on planes that would be obsolete for war duty. The report suggested concentrating on "prototype" planes, useful for cargo-carrying now but equally suitable for wartime assignments after a few changes.

AMERICAN DREYFUS?

In the long run, the case of Representative J. Parnell Thomas v. Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, may turn out to be historic in the annals of US liberalism.

In the short run, it may do what a dozen others have thus far failed to do —awaken widespread public indignation against the methods of the Thomas committee and put a crimp in its un-American method of trial without jury. For the challenge to Thomas made by Dr. Condon amounts to resistance in the name of science, sanity and common decency against political superstition, prejudice and persecution.

As a personal issue between the eminent scientist and the head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the case is not yet closed. Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman has refused to surrender to Thomas the department's confidential loyalty files on Dr. Condon or to give any testimony materially connected with them. He acted in accord with precedents based on opinions of the US Attorney General after the Commerce Department's Loyalty Board unanimously found that "no reasonable grounds exist for believing that Dr. Condon is disloyal to the Government of the United States." To have done otherwise would have proved the ineffectiveness of the existing machinery safeguarding individual liberties.

But Representative Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.), no mean witch-hunter himself, has introduced a special bill to force Harriman to surrender his files. And on the basis of an appeal from Dr. Condon to "put an end to public smears" of scientists, the Senate-House Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has opened a preliminary and secret inquiry of its own into the whole affair.

Important aspects of the case are the popular interest because of the public stature of the victim, the fact that atomic energy is involved and that men of the highest reputation and standing have come to Dr. Condon's defense. Thus large numbers of US citizens have a chance to see the sort of thing the Thomas committee considers "evidence." In tone, content and apparent aim, the seven-page accusation against Dr. Condon resembles the more curious documents of the Dreyfus affair. No one of the facts of Dr. Condon's role in atomic research set forth in the accusation is new or in any sense discreditable.

Among the "charges" against the former president of the American Physical Society are the following: that

Watchful

COLORADO SPRINGS (NR correspondent)

ROBERT DONNER, owner of a local airport, spends a great deal of his spare time trying to prevent the tide of communism from surging up into the Rocky Mountains. His latest civic effort has been to request Colorado College authorities to remove the following "anti-American" and "leftist" periodicals from the campus library: *Survey Graphic, Christian Unitarian Register, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, United Nations Bulletins, In Fact,* the *Nation,* the *New Republic* and *Commonweal.*

So far, however, the college has canceled no subscriptions.

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he was a member of the board of directors of the American Soviet Science Society; that Dr. Condon speaks Russian; that his wife is "an American-born woman of Czechoslovakian descent"; that he associated with several individuals connected with the Polish Embassy in Washington, among them Dr. Ignace Zlotowski, a former UN delegate. None of these "charges," of course, has any bearing whatsoever on Dr. Condon's loyalty.

The *pièce de résistance* of the accusation consists of quotations from a letter written on May 15, 1947, to Harriman by the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover, offering opinions about Condon's "associations." But by a strange coincidence the one sentence of the letter unequivocally absolving the scientist of any taint of disloyalty was omitted in the Thomas version. Later Thomas told reporters that his investigators had copied the letter "hastily" and had "overlooked" the all-important sentence.

Liberals in Washington are hoping that Thomas may have pitched a boomerang this time. They recall again the memorable dissent by Judge Charles E. Clark of the US Circuit Court of Appeals in the Josephson case (the *NR*, January 12). In this dissent Clark castigated the Thomas committee for its irresponsibility in using its unlimited powers to drive from their private jobs or from public life persons holding social, economic or political views which might not be agreeable to committee members.

STORM CLOUDS

When the big break in commodity prices occurred, the *NR* suggested that some of the businessmen who were rejoicing at lower prices might not be so happy when the effects of reduced farm purchasing power began to be felt. Evidence is accumulating that this is so. The Chicago mail-order houses, for instance, which draw many of their customers from farm areas, report that business is down. One of them has just laid off 500 employees.

From all over the country come items which, small in themselves, sug-

BIG JIM

MONTGOMERY, ALA. (NR corres.)

BIG JIM FOLSOM came home last week from a brief trip to Washington, in a blaze of nationwide publicity stirred up by a paternity suit. His only comment on the suit was that he is in a political campaign in Alabama and that he has faced "these tactics" in other campaigns.

While it is still too early to predict what effect these charges may have on the Baptists and Methodists of the backwoods, everyone down here agrees that it would be a bad mistake to write Big Jim off as a political figure either in the state or nationally. In fact, many people believe he may just happen to be the catalyst of a new upsurge of Southern liberalism quite outside the Democratic Party leadership.

Political courage. This may be an over-optimistic estimate of a 39-year-old man who has been Governor for only one year and just recently began to widen his field. But the size of Folsom's popular following in Alabama and the political courage he has shown on some ticklish issues, back it up. While other Southern Governors have joined in a revolt against the Administration on the basis of Truman's civil-liberties stand, Folsom is more concerned with Truman's kowtowing to Wall Street.

His method of protest is to ask to be sent as Alabama's favorite son to the July National Convention to prevent Truman's nomination from being a purely routine affair. And he is now in the midst of a statewide speaking tour to whip up support.

The important thing, Big Jim's friends say, is the brand of liberalism that lies behind his new campaign. He certainly is no intellectual. As a matter of fact, he is in many ways a throwback to the early Tom Watson days—"agin'" the Big Mules, the Alabama Power and Light Company and US Steel. But down here he doesn't sound, as he does to some up North, suspiciously like the demagogic Bilbos and Rankins. And there are some good things he is *for*. For instance, he is very positive about the necessity for eliminating legal restrictions on voting. And, for all the ambiguity of his present stand on white supremacy, his friends believe he may some day take a liberal position on Negro rights in the South—a question both crucial and very difficult for a Southern office holder. Folsom's positiveness has stirred up Alabama politics to such an extent that some older leaders aren't sure of their followings.

Some Alabamians distrust Folsom's restless energy, complaining that he has too much to say on too many subjects. His close associates admit that he can be difficult, that he resists advice and gets stubborn under pressure. But so far, they insist, he usually comes up with the right answers.

Vote-getter. On his speech-making parade around the state Big Jim is taking with him all the noise-making paraphernalia of a demagogue—his hillbilly band, "The Strawberry Pickers," his cornshuck mop and his suds bucket. But Northerners watching all this from a distance shouldn't be deceived. Jim knows what technique is necessary to be heard in the vote-bearing back country of his home state. Because of Folsom's influence, some pretty good men who have never before held important public office are announcing themselves as candidates for Congress.

Not since the days of the Populists has Alabama seen such an upsurge of interest in politics for plain people, merchants, teachers, farmers and others on the grass-roots level. And Big Jim is leading it.

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gest that business in general is slacking off. For instance:

¶ A furniture dealer observed: "Judging from the amount of trade I've had in the past month, you'd think I had a scarlet-fever sign on my door."

¶ A Pittsburgh realtor declared: "Business is lousy—prices are so high people can't scrape up enough money to make the down payment."

¶ Ripples of unemployment have already spread to tire factories in Akron, Ohio.

¶ In Philadelphia the Philco Corporation will make a "seasonal" dismissal of 500 to 600 workers in its radio division.

¶ Proctor Electric is laying off nearly 200.

¶ A parts maker for Kaiser-Frazer has discharged 500.

¶ A survey of dry goods, automobiles, household appliances and machine tools shows large surpluses accumulating that point to further possible production cutbacks and unemployment.

Much of the bad news cannot be blamed on the commodities break; seasonal factors certainly account for some of the unemployment, and consumer resistance has undoubtedly been partly responsible for large inventories. But the farm recession has curtailed a potent source of buying power. Whatever the reason or reasons, business seems to be feeling a pinch.

Happy Thought

The bill below was prepared by Arthur Garfield Hays, the well known New York attorney and champion of civil liberties, just in case he should happen to be elected to Congress, of which he is not now a member and for which he has no intention of running.

IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 15, 1948

Mr. Hays proposed the following bill, to be referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

A BILL
To provide means to eliminate the Communist nuisance.

Whereas, this was a happy land with no troubles until hordes of Communists overran us, causing high prices, strikes, conspiracies and treason, and

Whereas, Communists have, since the beginning of our history, caused all the hell-raising in the United States, and

Whereas, experience during the late war proved conclusively that the FBI, the police, the military and all of our courts and laws are incapable of doing their jobs of apprehending traitors, and

Whereas, treason is hard to prove under the Constitution of the United States, and

Whereas, Communists advocate deceit, confusion and are traitors, and

Whereas, one of our chief difficulties is that we cannot distinguish a Communist from anyone else, and

Whereas, there is a pressing need for some means of easy distinction, and

Whereas, we have all sorts of investigations, committees and commissions but no machines to read a man's mind,

Therefore, BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

1. That all suspected Communists or people we don't like are to be submitted to a mental test.

2. That we appropriate $10 billion to set up a commission to invent a mental reading machine which, when applied, will say "COMMUNIST" when the individual is not a loyal citizen.

3. Until such a machine is fully developed, all Communists must wear boots, red shirts, fur caps and grow beards (both male and female).

4. This law shall be self-enforcing and shall take effect immediately.

THE VETS SEE CONGRESS

Eleven major veterans' organizations (including the AVC, VFW, Catholic War Vets, Jewish War Vets and posts of the Legion and Amvets) contributed 2,000 delegates last week for a march on Washington, D. C., to lobby for federal housing. They wanted specifically to urge passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, now blocked in committee.

First they tried to obtain the needed 156 additional signatures on a discharge petition which would force the T-E-W bill on to the floor of the House for consideration. The vets managed to scrape up 65.

Then they made an appointment to see Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R, Mich.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, which is sitting on the T-E-W bill. When the vet delegation called at Wolcott's office, he was nowhere to be found.

Other vet delegations managed to locate their quarry: Republican National Committee Chairman Carroll Reece told a handful of ex-GI's, "I can't commit my party." Senator J. Howard McGrath, the Democratic chieftain, explained that he favored the T-E-W but he "could not commit, either."

Toward the end of the day, the vets finally unearthed Wolcott; prolonged heckling of his secretary finally produced a telephone call from the Representative saying he would meet with "four or five" leaders. It turned out that he couldn't commit, either.

Most of the constructive work of the conference was done at the vets' own meetings. They talked, passed resolutions and told each other what they had seen and heard. It had been an instructive trip.

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THE FOURTH PARTY

by Helen Fuller

THE REACTIONARY Southern Democrats are even more serious about their talked-of revolt against the national party than when they first threatened it. Support of the Governors' race-hatred-inciting speeches has been strong and violent, and the men who led the Byrd-for-President movement in the South in 1944 have convinced themselves their time has now come. They believe a fourth party of national influence can be built this year, and that such a new party actually might stand a chance of putting its nominee into the White House.

If the Democrats dropped Truman, the Southern Republocrats might drop their plans. As of now they are seriously determined to bolt. Their long-range plan is to nominate a Southern Democratic Party candidate as a fourth presidential contender. Mississippi s Governor Fielding L. Wright and South Carolina's Governor J. Strom Thurmond are vying for the number-one spot, with Wright pulling out in front.

Strategy. Senator James O. Eastland (D, Miss.), who devised the plan, argues that if all or most of the 156 Southern electoral votes were cast for such a candidate, neither the Republican nor the national Democratic Party nominee would receive a clear majority. The election would be thrown into the House of Representatives with a good chance for victory because "Northern Democrats would still prefer a Southern Democrat to a Republican, and Republicans would prefer a Southern Democrat to a Northern one."

Top Democratic leaders in Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Tennessee are ready to back this strategy with their personal positions. The die-hard elements in Alabama, Georgia and Florida are not yet ready to run such a risk.

Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia, a Byrd-machine man, is trying to set the legal pattern for cutting the South's ties to the national Democratic Party. By his original proposal to the state legislature, the state party convention, not the voters, would instruct the electors how to vote for President and Vice President.

The revised version of his "anti-Truman" election law that is expected to pass will keep Truman's name off the Virginia ballot as the nominee of the Democratic Party, but it will permit the name to appear on the ballot by petition, not under the name of an existing party.

Other Southern states are following Tuck's lead. The South Carolina legislature, now in session, is being asked to repeal one section of the state code so as to take the power to select electors out of the general election and give it to the state assembly. Mississippi and some other states already list electors on their ballots only by name, without party designation.

If Truman is the Democratic nominee, the question in Mississippi is whether there will be any electors pledged to him on the ballot at all. The Governor, the Democratic State Executive Committee, the speaker of the house, and the legislature as a whole, are flatly committed against voting for him now under any conditions. The state is so anti-Truman that it has become the heart-land of the Southern revolt. A strategy conference of Southern Democratic leaders will probably meet in April on the friendly Mississippi soil.

John U. Barr, the New Orleans businessman who headed the Byrd-for-President Committee in 1944, was in Washington last week conferring with Senator Eastland and others on the timetable for the new party. Some of the Southerners want to boycott the Democratic National Convention. But wiser heads favor holding a full-dress Southern Democratic convention, probably on the Fourth of July, to select a candidate to back at Philadelphia. Formal withdrawal from the national party would come only after that battle was lost.

Shift. When they reach the stage of being an independent party, the Southerners expect to attract considerable non-Southern support. The whole line is being quietly shifted from civil rights to states' rights for that purpose. They have been impressed by the volume of mail Governor Wright has received from Midwest "states'-rights Democrats" who hail his crusade, and they predict an eventual party realignment between "states'-rights Democrats" and "police-state Democrats."

All the state Byrd organizations left over from the last election are being revived with instructions to stress "states' rights," not "anti-Truman." Formal headquarters for the movement have already been opened in Jackson, Mississippi. Some $62,000 has been pledged. Campaign buttons at $1 apiece which read, "Mississippi Democrat—States' Rights," and display a picture of Thomas Jefferson, are on order from a St. Louis manufacturer.

Memphis Boss Ed Crump's enlistment in the cause gave the rebels a big lift. With Talmadge in the saddle in Georgia, they say, the states'-rights-people there will now "come out like morning glories." They expect no trouble in Louisiana, asserting that a majority of both the Long and the Jones machines are with them.

At last, after 12 years of talking about it, the Southern Republocrats think they are really going to have a party all their own.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

The Case of Dr. Condon

IN THE FALL OF 1945, I attended a meeting of scientists called at the University of Chicago by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins. I there met for the first time Dr. Edward U. Condon, who was then in the employ of Westinghouse. He greatly impressed me with his straightforward earnestness and scientific competence. Dr. Lyman J. Briggs had resigned as chief of the National Bureau of Standards on account of age and I tried to get Condon for the job. It was difficult to do so because he was getting more money from Westinghouse than the government could pay.

When I swore him in as chief of the Bureau of Standards he solemnly swore to "defend the Constitution of the US against all enemies, foreign and domestic." I am certain that he has kept that oath inviolate, which is more than I can say for his congressional traducers, who, with their affiliates in the Department of Justice, have continually been undermining the spirit of the First Amendment.

All honor to William C. Foster, Undersecretary of Commerce, who had the courage to say that the department's loyalty board unanimously held in late February that "no reasonable grounds exist for believing that Dr. Condon is disloyal to the government of the United States."

The Constitution of the US is far more likely to be undermined by espionage conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and certain members of the Department of Justice than it is by Dr. Condon or by left-wing union officials born in Russia who came to the US before the Russian Revolution.

Things have come to a pretty pass in the US when government agents and even private citizens can apply to the FBI for its file on an individual, and then deny employment to that individual on the basis of the FBI file. This means that the US is rapidly becoming a police state.

J. Parnell Thomas and Attorney General Tom Clark do not seriously believe that Dr. Condon has betrayed a single scientific secret, directly or indirectly, to the Soviets. What they are really trying to do, in this and other cases, is to scare everyone into being a good Republican or a good Democrat.

By intimidation they try to shut up everyone who works for peace and understanding. They are trying to make it a crime to work for the third party. They can't yet dictate how people vote, but they can silence them. They can deport the foreign-born and they can use un-American methods to deny jobs to those who speak for Jeffersonian democracy.

The Thomas committee answers the question of when it became a crime to admit that you know Henry Wallace. They say the Communists "got a man as Vice President of the US." In other words, Roosevelt was a Communist when he asked me to run with him in 1940, and so were the 27,243,466 people who voted the ticket that year. I knew I was a marked man as soon as I made my "Century of the Common Man" speech in 1942. But I didn't know until recently that the Republicans and the FBI had begun looking on me as subversive as early as 1940.

We shall see now how much courage is left among the scientists of the US. Will they defend Dr. Condon or will they run for cover like frightened rabbits as they see the Thomas committee and the FBI stalking the woods armed with shotguns loaded with un-American powers?

Last week I announced the formation of the Freedom League at Room 1405, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17. I am not asking for members, because I realize that the Thomas committee will at once call the League subversive. I don't want to help good American citizens to lose their jobs. But send me instances in which government officials or private employers have overstepped due bounds. If you are afraid to trust the mails, wait till I come to your town and tell me face to face.

Here is an instance I picked up at Minneapolis. A prominent lady had a number of people in for the evening and the Minneapolis police very carefully took the numbers of their cars in order to know who was there. It so happened that the meeting was for the purpose of discussing how to improve state hospitals, and all the evening visitors were doctors and college professors. There is every reason to believe that the information will finally appear in the FBI docket of this lady, whose chief sin is that she believes in Henry Wallace.

Freedom is in worse danger in the US today than it was in 1770. The patriots were less cowed then than they are today, because they were less dependent on jobs. What freedom is there when there is no freedom to speak without the risk of losing a job? What freedom is there for scientific research if a scientist is compelled to be ignorant of work done in Eastern Europe?

Dr. Condon must be asking these questions, as he ponders the oath I administered to him two years and four months ago. If he has any feeling of bitterness about his native land, I ask him to remember that the vast bulk of Americans will finally be with him, once the facts are known. I hope the Freedom League can bring the facts to the people of the US.

Henry A Wallace

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Aid to Peace . . . ERP or Road to War?

NINE MONTHS after his Harvard speech, Secretary Marshall's plan for European recovery is an Economic Coöperation Act brought by Senator Vandenberg onto the Senate floor. It isn't the same plan that Marshall asked for, nor is this the same world politically. It's less than the program the 16 nations asked for. But it's still a large program—representing 44 percent of the total imports of the 16 nations for the next four years, and a contribution in grants and loans of $185 by every American of voting age.

The future of the bill is uncertain. It may be wrecked or transformed. A powerful group in the Senate is fighting to make it a declaration of economic war against the USSR. A powerful group in the House, led by Representative Herter, is fighting to make it a weapon of world domination by America. Meanwhile dollars are running out in Europe.

Yet peace or war is still the overriding issue. Is the Vandenberg bill a step toward peace or war? The charges against it that count are six searching questions.

Is ERP a recovery plan? In June Marshall called for a "cure" for Europe's problems. The 16 nations replied with a report that looked toward "a lasting solution."

Our government took the report as a starting point. It cut down the estimated needs of grain because it believed that Europe could produce more. It postponed deliveries of electrical machinery and nitrogen. It eliminated steel scrap and reduced imports of crude and semi-finished steel, substituting the finished steel that is available. It cut agricultural machinery by half, and freight cars by more than 60 percent, because of American shortages. It included cotton, abundant in America, and increased tobacco, acquired by our government under price-support legislation, for which our government has little use. On the other hand, export of petroleum products is increased. In general, relief is stressed.

The program lacks reserves now. It can't complete the job. It will need to be supplemented by additional exports of coal, nitrates and capital goods. Its shift in emphasis makes recovery harder. But without this program, recovery in Europe will be impossible.

The 16 nations hoped that after four years' hard work and ERP aid Europe might achieve living standards one-half as high as those of Americans today. Without ERP, Europe's standards will sink below the minimum level required to maintain free institutions. Government by force must take over as men turn into mobs and economic life breaks down. Because the Communists combine a willingness to use force with a social concept, most of Europe will turn to communism. But whether the dictatorship which takes power is of the Left or the Right, the loss for democracy and peace will be the same.

Does ERP rebuild Germany? The answer is *yes*. For two years, under the Army's mandate of preventing "disease and unrest," we have shipped more to Germany than to any other country except Britain, France and Italy. Under ERP, Germany moves up into third place, with stress on German industry. The 16 nations foresaw this in their report. "It is essential," they said, "that both the participating countries and western Germany should be able to pay their way after 1951. If either achieves viability only at the expense of the other, the European economy will be unsound."

The State Department report on ERP added, "German reconstruction has no priority, but it must be brought about as part of our integrated program of Western European reconstruction. At the same time every precaution must be taken against a resurgence of military potential in Germany." This is the real point. The economic threat has been largely overcome by the

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new agreement on the Saar, as Fred Suggs points out from Paris. The military-potential threat can be overcome only by real denazification and by internationalizing the Ruhr.

Does ERP divide Europe? Europe is already divided. Perhaps the only way it can be reunited is through trade. The USSR has discouraged the economic dependence of Eastern Europe on the West. And many Europeans believe that America has discouraged trade agreements between Western and Eastern Europe. But Europe can't live divided. Since the war, more than 71 trade agreements have been negotiated between Eastern and Western Europe.

War devastation has been the real reason for loss of trade, cutting off Eastern shipments of coal, grain and timber, and preventing Western Europe from guaranteeing delivery dates on industrial goods. The 16-nation report assumed a rapid resumption of East-West trade. The State Department endorsed this approach. At first the Harriman committee proposed to reduce the dependence of the 16 nations on Eastern Europe by greatly reducing Polish exports of coal and increasing American exports by the same amount. The State Department reversed the Harriman committee and increased Western Europe's dependence on exports of coal and fertilizer over the CEEC estimates.

At the same time of course, America is withholding from Eastern Europe the equipment needed if that area is to increase its exports. This policy is in conflict with ERP.

Does ERP enslave Europe? Congress is divided between the Vandenberg and the Herter bills. Representative Jonkman, no liberal, rightly called the Herter proposal for ERP "imperialism." It gives control of a greatly reduced amount of aid to a government corporation. This corporation is instructed to send supplies for a relief rather than a recovery program, and is charged with encouraging private enterprise in Europe. It is given a strong grip over Europe through control of local currency reserves equivalent in size to ERP aid. The 16 nations can free themselves from this control only by repaying all aid in strategic materials or dollars.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House is considering Herter's bill. Already it has given way to Herter in cutting down the size of ERP aid, adding to the amount set aside for Germany, and including China and Korea in the program. If Herter's proposals are accepted, Jonkman will be right. So far Vandenberg has resisted pressure, accepting in principle the withdrawal of currencies and the stress on production of strategic materials, but providing safeguards for Europe.

Is the Vandenberg bill enslavement? There is an economic base for political independence in Europe. It does not exist today. As long as the 16 nations depend on American aid to make up ungovernable trade deficits, they are in Representative Herter's hands; inadequate aid, or no aid, will perpetuate their dependence, and his power. ERP is a means of establishing Western Europe's self-reliance and therefore its political independence. That certainly is the view of European labor. We shouldn't underestimate its ability to resist American pressures.

Does ERP bypass the UN? The UN is the one place where the US and the USSR work together. Since the USSR is opposing all ERP aid, there is no possible way in which ERP can be brought under the UN. The best we can do at present is to keep ERP aid open to Eastern Europe and to reopen credits through the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank.

Is ERP the Truman Doctrine? A simple breakdown makes the answer *no*. The Truman Doctrine means sending tanks and guns to Greece and Turkey and China to fight communism. ERP means sending food, fuel and machinery to raise Europe's standards.

It is because ERP is not part of the Truman Doctrine that the Senate revisionists are fighting it and insisting that sending military, not economic, aid is the way to stop the USSR.

Under any government and any Congress, ERP supplies would have to be sent to Europe. It happens that we have a conservative government and Congress. We can't punish Europeans for our political weakness.

The Soviet argument runs, "The Truman-Marshall plan is . . . the European subsection of the general plan for the policy of global expansion pursued by the United States." This is nonsense. If it were true that every country has only one consistent policy, then ERP would serve our policy. In fact, there are contradictory aspects, good and bad, in the foreign policies of all governments. They support the UN in India, and they undermine the UN in Palestine. They call for disarmament—they rearm. They support human rights—they back Tsaldaris or Gottwald in suppressing human rights. The only way to peace is to fight the negative aspects and support the positive aspects of each country's policy in a continuously developing world situation. ERP is one positive aspect of our policy that is based on world unity and that can lead America and the UN back to One World. As such it deserves support.

What are we to do? Under fire, the Administration and Vandenberg are giving ERP a political twist. There is real danger that, since Czechoslovakia, the bill will be passed in an anti-Soviet fever. UNRRA in its last year was also supported for the wrong reasons. We were still for it.

There is a lot to criticize in the Vandenberg bill and if necessary we shall go on criticizing. But, given this Congress, it's a great achievement and a major source of hope. Progressives may differ on ERP details. They can only agree that Europeans must be given aid and that there is no alternative to ERP aid this year. We'd like to see the Vandenberg bill improved. The pressure is all the other way, so we think it's best to take the bill as it is and to work from it for good administration. Because administration is all-important, the congressional elections of 1948 are all-important. ERP makes our Congress the most powerful body in the world. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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EUROPE AND THE MARSHALL PLAN: Special Reports

Will the Marshall Plan aid or set back European recovery? With debate on ERP reaching a climax in Washington, the New Republic *queried its European correspondents for first-hand opinions and reactions to the issues raised by critics from both Left and Right. Their cabled reports follow.*

Britain

LONDON (by wireless)

GRANTING THE VALIDITY of much of the Left opposition's criticism of the European Recovery Program, the case in favor of it remains overwhelming. One can put the truth more strongly: if dangers which the extreme Left senses in the Marshall Plan were even greater, Western Europe's labor movement would still accept it as the only escape from disaster.

Will the Marshall Plan, as some critics say, extend US influence in Europe? Certainly. What alternative do the critics offer? Trade with Russia and with Eastern Europe? Such trade is now being developed. It is limited by Western Europe's inability to guarantee early delivery of machinery rather than by political hostility. It is also restricted by the volume of food and raw materials Eastern Europe is ready to export.

Britain relies on imports for about one-half of her food requirements. According to a British-government analysis, less than five percent of Britain's food-import needs can be met by the USSR and Eastern Europe.

A Yugoslav government trade mission has been in London wringing its hands on the British government's doorstep for more than six months. It has been unable to close a big commercial deal because the British could not cut the five, six and seven-year delivery periods for the machinery Yugoslavia wants sooner in exchange for food, minerals and timber. This illustrates the sort of obstacle that is genuinely cramping trade between Western and Eastern Europe.

East-West trade has begun to grow within the limits of Western Europe's exportable surplus of machinery and Eastern Europe's exportable foodstuffs and raw commodities. Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and others have been concluding a series of trade pacts with Russia, or with Eastern European countries, or with both. There is no sign ERP will arrest that trend. The 16 Marshall Plan governments, in their Paris report last September, committed themselves to the enlargement of East-West trade as essential to recovery.

To arguments that the Marshall Plan will divide Europe, British laborites reply that ERP did not create the division. It was not the United States or Western Europe, but Molotov, who walked out of the Paris Marshall Plan conference last July 2. To pin the guilt on ERP for splitting Europe is to blame the doctor for causing the cancer.

Socialist attitude. Socialist Parties of most of the 16 European nations are to meet in London on March 21 and 22 to define their attitude toward ERP. Their position can safely be anticipated.

Besides rejecting Stassen's idea of making American aid conditional on the renunciation of Socialist experiments, they will remind the United States of the Marshall-Vandenberg pledge to respect the right of European peoples to determine without hindrance their social and economic policies. They will incidentally tell Washington that Western European unity, on which ERP rests, would be severely rocked unless the recovery program's sponsors continue to deny its benefits to fascist Spain.

They will assert their stand against reactionary manipulation of aid for predominantly strategic aims, against its perversion into military relief on the Greek-Turkish pattern. They will throw the weight of organized labor within the participating countries into making ERP an instrument of international planning. Such planning, they will emphasize, should extend to foreign trade and capital, reëquipment of industries, transport, hydroelectric power and agriculture. They know that only by this approach can they diminish their dependence on the dollar.

Today's alternative is not simply between a Socialist Western Europe or capitalist exploitation under American power. The immediate choice is between US aid or near starvation for millions of Europeans. It is for organized labor and progressive political leadership on both sides of the Atlantic to direct ERP away from war preparations and toward the planned reconstruction of a mutilated economy.

FREDERICK KUH

France

PARIS (by wireless)

A 16-NATION planning committee is reconvening in Paris on March 15 to consider changes made necessary by recent developments—above all, the American suggestions for revision of European requirements and the role that western Germany will play in the Marshall Plan.

American diplomacy scored a signal triumph recently when it removed one of the principal French objections on German reconstruction. The Berlin tri-

DRAWINGS BY GOLDEN

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power agreement permitted France to keep the total output of Saar coal after April, 1949. It enables France to meet the Monnet Plan target of 12.75 million tons of steel production by 1950 and tops the fixed German level of 10 million, eliminating French fears that the enemy would be favored industrially over the ravaged countries.

Popular feeling in France supports the European Recovery Program, but the experts are more divided. Economists here are unhappy about congressional recommendations to reduce steel, iron and chemicals requests, pointing out that if the Marshall Plan is to be based on the self-help theory and not be a perpetual dole, it must provide the necessary raw materials to enable European industries to create solvent economies.

That also means American willingness for large-scale purchases from Europeans and allocation of materials for heavy industries here. And there is considerable suspicion in France that we may not follow through on this program wholeheartedly, particularly if a depression threatens in the United States.

There are other difficulties, for example the conflict between British and French efforts, which are highly competitive. In the automobile industry, for instance, the French and British are preparing cut-throat competition for world markets.

One suggestion to end this disruptive rivalry is that the French concentrate on small cars, while the British make bigger town cars and luxury models. The question then becomes: what will Detroit say?

Private fears. Everyone's patience and fairmindedness will be tried to the utmost before a mature, effective ERP evolves. Accusations by the opposition that ERP is unrelated to the people's needs, and a means of extending United States influence, are identical with the private fears of those supporting the program. But nobody is worrying much these days in Europe about the political strings tied to American purses. Pride is worth less per kilogram than butter, and there are no innocent babes in arms running Europe's chancelleries.

In France the payoff will come on economic effectiveness and nothing else. It isn't a matter of who is right now, but who will be right a year from now.

FRED SUGGS

Italy

ROME (by wireless)

IN ITS MOST elementary aspects—a guaranteed supply of coal and wheat—the Marshall Plan literally spells for Italy the difference between survival and destruction. In its fullest sense it is even more significant. It means that Italy may some day stop begging for handouts and become an economically self-respecting colleague.

According to the sober and cautious Saraceno Report issued by the IRI (Institute for Italian Reconstruction), she can do this within four years. Largely with American aid, she has already reached 80 percent of her prewar production level. With ERP help she can do the rest: modernize sick industries, discard inefficient producers, decrease unemployment, develop potential hydroelectric power and bring irrigation to Italy's thirsty soil.

The Communists here are charging that, far from wanting this to happen, the Marshall Plan is a plot to tailor the Italian economy to suit American monopoly capitalism. There is remarkably little evidence to support this contention. While the State Department cut down its original Italian estimate for necessary steel and other raw-materials imports, it has tampered very little with the over-all Italian reconstruction scheme. Italian experts unanimously deny that there is anything in the Marshall Plan to prevent Italy from carrying out her self-devised four-year plan.

If the plan withers on the stem it will be not because of ERP but despite it. The principal question is, what kind of government in Italy could carry out the recovery plan effectively and with equality?

No full-blooded rehabilitation project could be realized without rigorous controls by the Italian government. The machinery is at hand in the IRI, a huge government holding company controlling 80 percent of the nation's bank deposits and 55 percent of its heavy industry. If the IRI were run by a socialist-minded government it could be brilliantly effective. Under the present friendly-to-big-business government, however, the IRI has been draining off billions of lire into obsolete industries like sugar and steel, which contribute little or nothing to national recovery.

Bad choice. If the de Gasperi government's record with the IRI is an unhappy hint to future failure, its choice of an ERP administrator is even more ominous. Recently the Council of Ministers selected Pietro Campilli for this job. A loyal Christian Democrat conformist, enthusiastic financial speculator and indifferent organizer, Campilli is hardly the man to fight for intelligent national planning.

His appointment provoked a sharp warning from moderate Socialist leader Ivan Matteo Lombardo. "ERP is giving Italy the most splendid chance in its history," he said. "It can be squandered in fostering monopoly and perpetuating industrial inefficiency. Or the same money can be used with socialist planning to ensure our recovery.

"I have seen no signs that America will oppose socialist planning here as a condition of the Marshall Plan. If Italy cannot create a sound economy with ERP it will be only because we Socialists are not strong enough to push past our own capitalists to success. In such a case we will have only ourselves to blame."

CLAIRE NEIKIND

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"WAR?—WE'D RATHER STARVE"

But this British economist believes that the choice between perpetual poverty and economic hope for Europe lies in Marshall Plan aid **by Barbara Wootton**

AMONG THE 16 European nations now tensely watching the Marshall Plan debates, the British are likely to show even more than one-sixteenth of the interest. Not because their situation is more wretched than that of the others: it is not. If you want to know how it feels to be hungry, there are much better opportunities on the European continent than are to be found—so far—in Britain. But the British are uncomfortably aware that when the Committee for European Economic Cooperation calculated last summer the prospective deficits of the participating countries with the American continent, the figure for Britain was more than double that of any other country except France.

The facts of the British position may sometimes be obscured, but they are not inherently obscure. And Sir Stafford Cripps spares no pains to see that they are widely understood and appreciated. On the average, through 1947 the United Kingdom's trading deficit ran at nearly $52 million a week; of which all—or, strictly, more than all, since there was a small surplus on trade with the non-dollar countries—was owed to the dollar area.

In the general postwar rise of prices, Britain has lost more than she has gained. She pays a lot more for what she buys, and gets a relatively moderate increase on what she has to sell. If the relative prices of British exports and imports were to go back to their prewar position, more than 40 percent of the total deficit would disappear at once. This worsening of the terms of trade has the effect of making Britain run as fast as she can in order to stay in the same place. Even in 1947, the prices of United Kingdom imports were rising twice as fast as those of exports. When you have put a good face on new austerities, and struggled hard to increase your output, it is maddening to find that your sacrifices have all been swallowed up by some new perversity in the behavior of prices.

Other factors in the situation are well enough known. One hardly dares to repeat that the British liquidated their overseas investments during the war, that the ships that used to earn freights have gone to the bottom of the sea, that the plaster is peeling off the walls, that the machines are obsolete, or that the people are tired and would like a little fun.

So far, US tourists have been coy about coming over to spend their dollars, some because they think that Europe is an altogether miserable place for the holiday-maker, and some out of a genuine and generous reluctance to add even for a few weeks to the number of mouths to be fed. Naturally this is particularly dangerous in Britain because the British economy, beyond all others in Europe, was geared to a system of international trade and investment. That system began to chip badly after the First World War and fell apart after the second. Without overseas food and raw materials, England has no hope of sustaining her population.

Recovery, not relief. As Sir Stafford Cripps stated recently, this is a gap which "we must close by our own efforts, supported, we earnestly hope, by Marshall aid." And surely the two are linked. Lavishing dollars on a bankrupt, feckless and demoralized Europe will not save the world, or even quiet the conscience of sensitive Americans. Marshall aid is a *Recovery* Program: its very title postulates that the recipients are not incurable.

Certainly there are encouraging signs. Actually European recovery seems to have been somewhat undersold in the rest of the world. The French have done well with coal, the British with steel, and if the food situation generally is pretty grim, at least the CEEC found that the supply of fish was back to prewar levels.

In Britain, 1947 has been a better year than 1946 in the production of a great range of goods. The coal situation is particularly heartening, with January, 1948, output up 10.6 percent over January, 1947, and exports to Europe already under way. Only a very small advance on this rate of output will be necessary to fulfill the CEEC production program for the year.

Soft spot. British Labor takes particular pleasure in these figures, coming as they do from the first industry (after the Bank of England) to be nationalized. As for ships, if the old ones are at the bottom of the ocean, there is nearly twice as much tonnage under construction as in the year before the war. Textiles, on the other hand, are still an awkward spot: both the woolen and the cotton industry are terribly undermanned, or rather underwomanned; but there is now a definite upward trend in the numbers employed as well as in production.

The 1948 targets should make that CEEC deficit, which was based on assumptions of maintenance of mid-1947 prices and availability of supplies and imports on the anticipated 1951 scale, look agreeably out of date. The British have set their target for the volume of exports at 140 percent of 1938 by the middle of this year and at 160 percent by the end of the year. Reaching these goals will mean a hard struggle. But the December, 1947, figures were 120 percent of prewar and January, 1948, is coming out at nearer 128 percent.

Clearly things are moving in the right direction. And in a situation like this the psychological factors count for a great deal. There was a noticeable

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improvement in morale in Britain in the latter part of 1947, even though further sacrifices were demanded of the British public. Psychologically it was important that the initiative for the Marshall Plan came from across the water, and was not a response to whining appeals from Europe.

But morale alone cannot close that export-import gap. As long as it continues to yawn, reserves must be used to bridge it, and reserves of gold and dollars are extremely thin. They cannot possibly last beyond the end of the year, and may well be exhausted in six months.

No surplus. The critical factor—and this isn't true of Britain alone—is the narrow margin out of which further improvements have to be squeezed. Even if the last penny were taken, the wealthy classes of Europe and England cannot save up anything like the amount of capital needed to fire the boilers of European economic recovery and replenishment. Also, today there are no vast undeveloped coal fields, oil wells, forests and so forth: in Britain least of all.

What resources exist are sufficient only to maintain a highly elaborate economy now running far below capacity, because the necessary tools are worn out and the supply of materials has dried up. The real choice for those who would reconstruct Europe lies between assisted capital development, with the prospect of future independence and even modest prosperity, or perpetually pouring everything into the business of just keeping alive. Marshall aid can decide which alternative is to be realized.

But even Marshall aid can be successful only under certain conditions. One condition is that the aid must be adequate in amount. If a destitute and hungry man is given the price of a meal, a meal is what he will buy, and soon he will be hungry and destitute again. If his workshop has been burned down and he is helped to rebuild and restock it, there is at least a good prospect that he may not be forced to come back for more. American doles are surely the last thing that anybody on either side of the Atlantic wants. But very small sums can only be doles. Marshall aid could tip the scale; Marshall relief is no good to anybody. It will merely postpone hardships, with all the disastrous psychological consequences that this implies. Worse still, it will embitter relations between the Europeans and the Americans.

Time is important too. This fact is overlooked by those who argue that it would have been better for everybody if ERP had been a United Nations, not a United States, project, and that even now Secretary Marshall would be well advised to turn the job over to Trygve Lie. Even on the wildly improbable hypothesis that on this matter the mills of Lake Success would grind surely, they are bound to grind exceeding slow. And the longer Europe has to postpone its industrial reconstruction, the more it will cost in the end, no matter who pays for it.

Above all, Marshall aid, if it is to be effective, must be constructively used. To many Britons, the bitterest thing in the economic retrenchment of last year was the $800 million reduction in capital outlay. Putting up the car, or cutting down to one slice of bacon a week instead of two, is not the ultimate disaster. But capital cuts mean the postponement of hope. It was encouraging, therefore, to have Sir Stafford Cripps remind the House on December 18 that "Any assistance we derive from the Marshall Plan will have to be used for the more rapid development of our own resources and those of Europe and the sterling area, and not merely to enable us to enjoy some temporary improvement in our living standards."

The key points. The British economy is built on coal, and British coal is vital to Europe. But coal production depends on more than human muscle and good will. The Coal Board has extensive plans for improvement in mining methods and for increased mechanization. Short-term projects have priority here, but the really productive plans are six-year or ten-year jobs; and these depend on the installation of new machinery. Electric power, again, is a critical point. Last winter industry ran short-time and domestic consumers shivered because the power plants were short of coal. This winter, coal stocks have been much larger, but there are still cuts because the generating stations cannot carry the load. New power plants have to be built before industry can run at capacity, and the housewife can iron her linen.

Britain is planning a 20-percent increase in food production, which means more tractors and fertilizer will be needed. Tractors are one of the highlights of British production, but England cannot produce the gasoline to run them. Housing and other construction is held up for lack of timber, and the entire economy is slowed down because of the worn-out condition of the railroad equipment.

European trade. Britain also has obligations to use her exports to help in the reconstruction of her European neighbors. The European economic system was built on multilateral trade. In the interwar period nationalistic policies distorted the shape of such trade, but right down to World War II Europe regularly squared its accounts with the United States by indirect methods.

The adverse trade balance with the USA is not a new phenomenon and is not due either to the cupidity of the Americans or to the faintheartedness or the misfortunes of the Europeans. This balance, as the CEEC report points out, used to be met partly from invisible exports, partly from the sale of colonial produce to the USA and partly from dollar earnings on Europe's sales to the rest of the world. Now the rest of the world has no more dollars to buy with, and, as the report states, the war in the Far East has "turned the rubber, tin and other dollar-earning colonial products into a net expenditure."

Today the United States stands as the great champion of the virtues of multilateral trade—an attitude which is intelligible and natural, partly in view of the US prewar pattern of trade, and partly because of American independence of such attachments as

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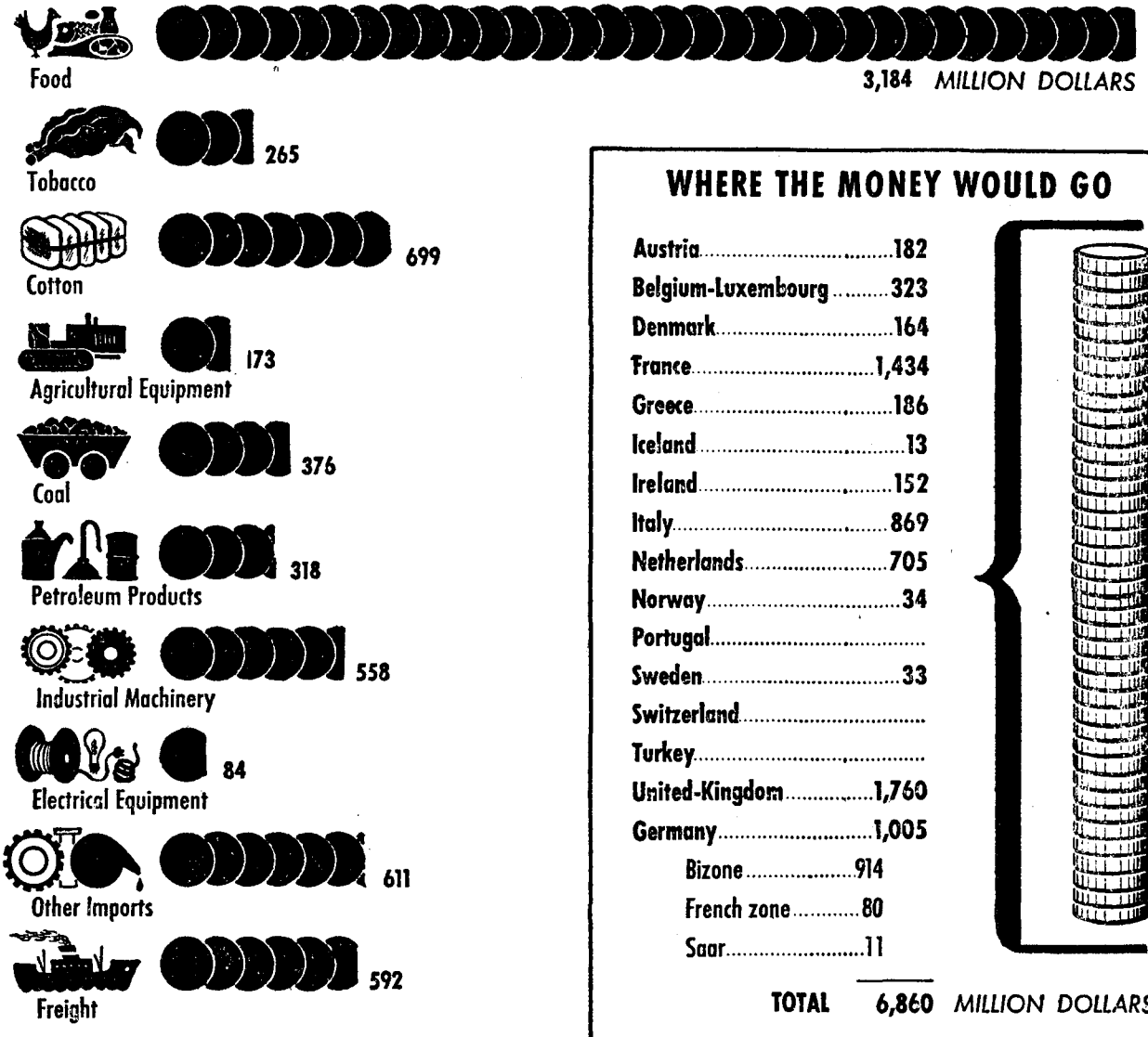
those of the British Commonwealth. Perhaps the restoration of anything that measures up to American standards of multilateralism will require a miracle. Without Marshall aid two miracles will be necessary.

All this is simple economics. On the political aspects of the Marshall Plan, and especially its significance in American domestic policies, the foreigner—particularly the foreigner from the potentially receiving end—must speak with reserve. No one, however, can fail to observe the risk that ERP may win the support of some sections of the American public for reasons other than those inherent in its original conception.

On the second page of the background material published with the economic-coöperation bill (for aid under the Marshall Plan), we are told: "The principal reason for wanting an economically stable Europe is that it is a prerequisite to the maintenance of the civilization in which the American way of life is rooted." Those words may be read as the statement of an innocent and vital truth. Even the most spiritually admirable way of life requires a certain material foundation, and a civilization, like an army, marches on its belly. The Kremlin will naturally translate the sentence just quoted into its own ideological dialect. And many Americans will, from their own angle (whether of satisfaction or disgust), read it the same way.

Painful choice. Inevitably this makes an awkward dilemma for those who support the Marshall Plan. Nothing is so upsetting as to find the right policies being sold for the wrong reasons. On this account, Europeans can sym-

WHAT THE MONEY WILL BUY



CHARTS BY RAMON GORDON

WHERE THE MONEY WOULD GO

Austria	182
Belgium-Luxembourg	323
Denmark	164
France	1,434
Greece	186
Iceland	13
Ireland	152
Italy	869
Netherlands	705
Norway	34
Portugal	
Sweden	33
Switzerland	
Turkey	
United-Kingdom	1,760
Germany	1,005
Bizone	914
French zone	80
Saar	11
TOTAL	**6,860** MILLION DOLLARS

SOURCE: US DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The information given above is an approximation, based on July, 1947, prices, of the ERP plan submitted by the State Department. It makes no provision for possible changes as the congressional debate progresses. It is expected that of the total amount, 60 to 80 percent will be grants-in-aid, and the remainder, loans.

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pathize with the feelings, even if they regret the conclusions, of those Americans who think it best to be rid of the whole business.

If, however, those conclusions are right, the Europeans have a nice little dilemma too. Few can wish to be built up at American expense merely to play the part of bricks in a new Great Wall against communism. Alternatively, the prospect of serving as an appeasing morsel to be thrown to the Soviet monster is not exactly attractive. If the choice really lies between letting Europe quietly starve now, and deliberately and unnecessarily inflaming a third world war, well, I think, many of us on the European side would be ready to choose starvation.

Inevitable. Even a convinced pessimist cannot be certain that the issue is as simple as that; and the dangerous thing is that the more we emphasize, if only to deplore, the anti-Communist trends in ERP, the more we help to foster the very hostilities that we fear. It is not too late on either side of the Atlantic to bring the potentialities of the plan as a constructive piece of economic statesmanship boldly to the front again. Perhaps it is inevitable that Europe, preoccupied, even obsessed, with its own urgent economic needs, should keep looking at the plan primarily from that angle. Perhaps, too, that is particularly true for the British, who are still insular, and in whose thinking communism still plays a very small part. Certainly the cold war is vastly hotter in the United States than it is in England.

If an adequate Recovery Program goes through, many of its supporters on both sides of the Atlantic are certainly going to be thoroughly embarrassed by the company in which they find themselves. If they throw in their hands on that account, the bad company will have everything its own way, and Europe, one way or the other, will be finished forever. Let the ultra-fastidious ask themselves, Which matters most: getting the right thing done or making absolutely sure of always being seen in the company of the Right People?

MISCELLANEOUS DEDUCTIONS

Feeling guilty? Envy the lucky farmer, who keeps no books, or the millionaire who can afford a loophole expert at income-tax time

by Jan Hasbrouck

THIS WEEK 55 million Americans will sign their names to a printed form, place it wearily in an envelope, affix $1.5 million worth of postage, and mail the result of their canny calculations to our least popular fellow citizen, the Collector of Internal Revenue.

As the mailbox flap bangs shut, most of them will be left with a vague sense of foreboding. Is the American Friends of Zulu Rights really a tax-exempt outfit? The hotel bill on that business trip to St. Louis, maybe $85 is pretty steep. That bet Joe paid me, don't see how they could trace it. Well, quit your worrying—the chance that little peccadilloes of income-tax evasion will ever come home to roost are about as great as the chance of getting hit by a meteorite in Times Square.

97-percent safe. The Bureau of Internal Revenue, in reduced circumstances since the GOP economy axe fell last year, will look into about three percent of the returns filed. But the average man's chances of getting caught are even smaller than that, because most forms are selected for investigation only because of some cause for suspicion.

In actual fact, with only 20,000 employees working on enforcement, the Bureau has to stick closely to a system that will bring it the largest dollar recapture per man-hour invested. It takes just as much time to check the return of a small farmer or shopkeeper who keeps no books as it does to investigate the man who pays $50,000 but should have paid $80,000. It may even take longer, because the big operator's transactions will probably be on record somewhere. Therefore, large returns are given a careful check even if there is no reason to suspect fraud.

Then there are certain classes of returns which are notably suspect. Gamblers, race-track operators and bookies are obviously worth looking into. Anyone who does business largely on a cash basis may easily make an "error." Thus tavern keepers, small retailers, and many doctors and other professional men who keep no books can expect closer scrutiny than the average man.

Most of the investigating, however, is done as a result of information supplied to the Bureau. Informers are paid rewards up to 10 percent of the amount recovered. But the BIR will pay nothing for a suspicion, even if it turns out to be correct. It will pay only for evidence usable in court. Most tips come from bookkeepers, who really have the dope on the boss, or from banks. Under the law, banks are supposed to report any "unusual transactions." Some bankers, who regard their relationship to their customers as in the nature of a patient's confidences to his doctor, are reluctant to talk. But more and more of them are coming to tip off the BIR if a man's balance has been running $300 for years and suddenly hits $15,000 for no obvious reason.

This system of spotting defaulters is evidently pretty sound, for out of some 1,750,000 returns investigated last year, 1,300,000 paid additional tax. Most of those found in error admitted it readily, paid up, and the Bureau let it go at that. Prosecutions for civil fraud (50-percent additional penalty) were carried out against only about 2,000 persons, and a trifling 300 to 400 were faced with actions for criminal fraud.

Income-tax payments for 1947 will total about $19.6 billion. BIR experts think this is not far from the amount that might be expected, judging from the Department of Commerce figures

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on national income and other government statistics. So they feel that most people cheat not at all or very little. Many, in fact, make errors of overpayment with little more chance of detection than the underpayers.

In asking Congress for money last year, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue said that for each dollar spent in investigation, $21 is recaptured. He said he could double the outlay and maintain the ratio. He thought he might even treble it. Beyond that he would venture no opinion except to reiterate that the Bureau has thousands of returns which are palpably phony but which must remain unenforced for lack of facilities.

Much from few. In any such calculation, however, the law of diminishing returns must begin to operate fairly soon, because the great bulk of the returns are so small that a costly inquiry might result in an additional payment of only $20 or $30. Incomes under $5,000 provide more than half the total income-tax revenues. Seventy-five percent of the returns average just under $350. The upper brackets, where probing is most profitable, are numerically small. There are about three-quarters of a million taxpayers with incomes above $10,000 (1.36 percent); less than 50,000 with incomes over $50,000 (.09 percent); less than 10,000 with incomes over $100,000 (.02 percent); and less than 100 with incomes over $1,000,000 (less than .005 percent).

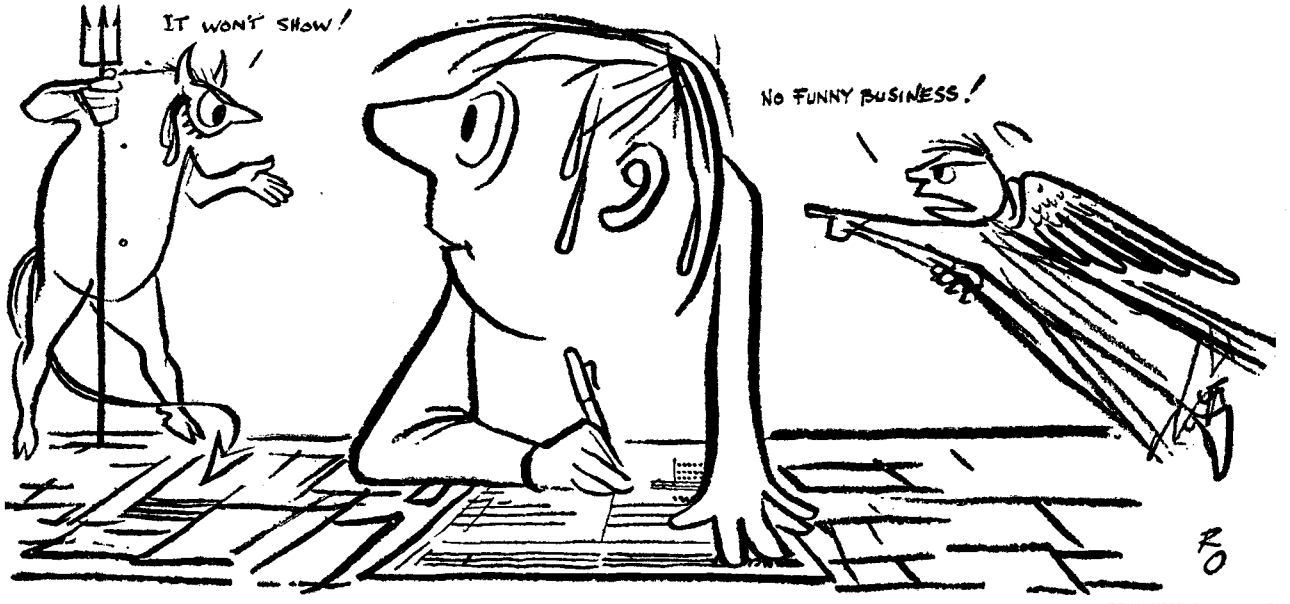
The commonest "mistake" in income-tax returns is the claiming of dependents not allowed under the law. This seems to be the most profitable dodge, as each dependent lops $500 off taxable income. Actually, many of the cases that are illegal are also unjust to the taxpayer. Where several children, for example, contribute to the support of an aged parent, none can claim any deduction unless he alone supplies the major part of the dependent's livelihood. And there are many instances where support is given to a person who is not a close relative within the meaning of the law.

The next commonest dereliction is failure to report income. This is particularly true, and almost untraceable, in the case of domestic servants and others who are paid in cash by individuals who do not report the payments. Taxi drivers, waiters and porters pocket their tips and the Bureau is none the wiser.

The government accountant has a hard time putting his finger on the corner grocer, the wayside garageman, the local plumber and any other small businessman whose income is largely in cash. But the person virtually above the tax law is the farmer. The law even gives him a special escape. Income-tax regulations say, "Each person subject to the tax, except persons whose gross income . . . arises solely from the business of growing and selling products of the soil, shall . . . keep such permanent books of account or records. . . ."

Unhappy farmer. One tax investigator reports spending a month looking into the return of a large-scale farmer who calculated his own tax at $25. There were no records, so the agent had to check the farmer's bank deposits and withdrawals, run down sales statements rendered by the commission houses to which livestock had been sold, inventory all farm equipment and improvements and question everyone with whom the farmer had had dealings. He found that equipment and improvements had been overvalued as much as threefold (for greater depreciation claims), that some income was not reported and that many unjustified deductions had been taken. The farmer owed not $25 but more than $6,000. He paid up without protest. But the Bureau is in no position to undertake such extensive gumshoe jobs except in cases as flagrant, and rewarding, as this one.

The other deductions allowed under the law, contributions, medical expenses, interest, etc., are seldom abused, despite a popular impression to the contrary. This is largely because the simplified forms in use since 1944 allow a flat 10 percent for such items on incomes under $5,000. Prior to 1944, the average claimed was six to



DRAWINGS BY OSBORN

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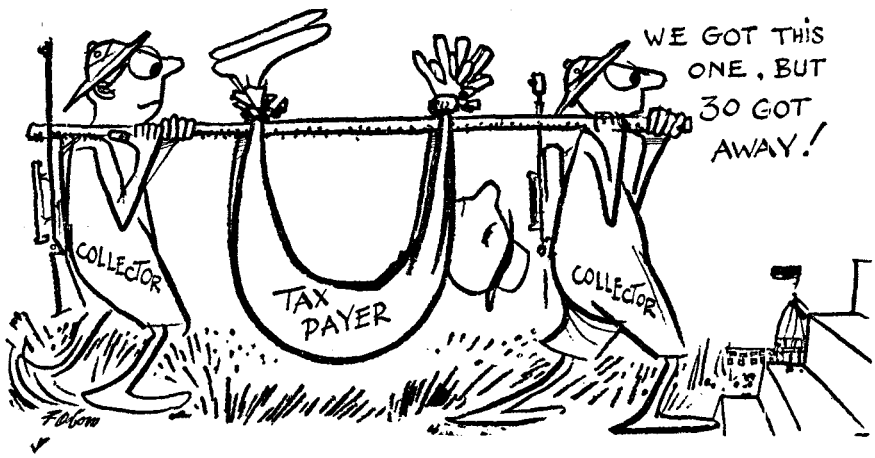


eight percent, and the new figure was chosen as a liberal allowance to discourage fictional charities. Apparently the lawmakers gauged the generosity, or, as the cynics put it, the ingenuity, of the average taxpayer fairly correctly, for 85 percent now elect the flat-rate allowance.

Dubious experts. The poor man, in fact, has very little leeway to juggle his tax return. Of the $19.6 billion income-tax revenue, $10 billion will be in payroll deductions. Nearly half of all taxpayers will simply sign the little slip given them by their employers and send it along to the Collector, making no attempt to whittle down their payments. Another 10 million or so will buy a book many times as long and just as complicated as the government instructions to try to find a loophole or two, or will pay $5 to $25 to some second-floor-rear "expert" for dubious advice.

Tax books, most of them accurate and honest, contain advice useful only to those with very special tax problems. The official instruction sheet will cover all but a tiny fraction of tax situations, and any one of the Bureau's 1,000 field agents will provide free help on demand. And yet one popular tax book alone is said to have sold four million copies last year at $1 each.

Tax "experts" who charge for their advice are major chiselers at this time of year. Most of them have nothing more to offer than a glib tongue, an assured manner and a quick perusal of one of the tax books. They simply do for a fee what any taxpayer who can read and add could do for himself if there had not grown up an inhibiting folklore about the horrendous complications of tax forms. Others knowingly cheat, and, unless they actually fill out the forms, the poor client is solely responsible. And yet, according to a Gallup poll conducted a couple of years ago, nine million Americans pay for help in making out their returns.

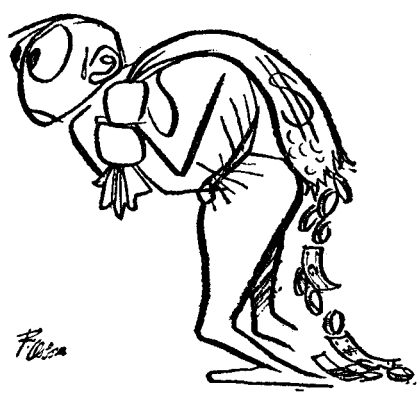
Actually, the only taxpayers who will find it worthwhile to hire an expert are the half-million or so in the brackets where the fancier loopholes can be used. These lucky people don't read the tax books; they hire the men who write them and so settle their tax liabilities at bargains not available to the payroll-deduction millions.

Capital gains and gains. At the times when Congress or the Treasury begins to take action, and a new tax law is being considered, the newspapers carry tables showing at what rate taxpayers in each bracket will pay. These tables have a fine soak-the-rich-and-share-the-wealth look, with you and me paying at 10 percent and the million-dollar man paying at 70 percent. But in practice it seldom works out that way. Trust funds, personal holding companies, cleverly contrived capital "losses" and a hundred and one other legal dodges succeed in substantially undercutting the rate set forth in the tables. One of the little-publicized features of the new GOP tax bill fathered by Representative Harold M. Knutson (R, Minn.) is a whole string of recondite provisions which enlarge the loopholes so useful to the very rich.

Another serious catch to the figures set forth in the tables of progressive rates is the assumption that the million-dollar incomes are all paid as salary. This is true only in very few instances. Most large incomes are derived in substantial part from capital gains, and the maximum tax on long-term capital gains is 25 percent. "Long term" means any investment held more than six months, a period which gives plenty of time for such transactions to be completed within the tax year. Short-term capital gains are taxed at the regular salary rate.

Take, for instance, an operator in the grain market into whose lap good luck or good management has poured $300,000. Without knowing anything of the gentleman's personal affairs, let us assume that he had held his grain for six months and that he had other income of $500,000. The naïve would assume from the tax tables that he would hand over to the government about $246,000 of his $300,000 grain winnings. Actually he would pocket $225,000 of the amount as a capital gain.

The capital-gains provision is by all odds the most inequitable part of our tax law. It is said to be necessary to tempt into the open that timid creature of the free-enterprise system known as venture capital. However that may be, the inequities legally committed under it go far to explain why the average taxpayer does not wrestle too hard with his conscience over a sawbuck diverted from Uncle "Collector of Internal Revenue" Sam to buy groceries for the wife and kids.



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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE MAN ROOSEVELT KNEW

by Richard Watts Jr.

THE genial and charming Jim Farley, who is personally one of the most engaging figures in recent American political life, emerges as a bitter, vindictive and boastful man in *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (Whittlesey; $3.50). It is not a pleasant spectacle.

The detailed account of his relationship with FDR is a revealing book, but hardly in the way its author intended. His purpose was to show how devious and ungrateful the President was to a man to whom he owed so much, but the result makes it completely understandable why Roosevelt saw through Farley's grave limitations and mistrusted his political intentions. The subsequent careers of William C. Bullitt, George H. Earle and innumerable others have shown how mistaken Franklin D. Roosevelt could be about the men with whom he surrounded himself, but Jim Farley's own apologia reveals how right he was about James A. Farley.

Pro-status quo. In the deepening conflict between the two men, who had once been so close to each other, it seems clear that Farley had many reasons for justifiable annoyance. It has never been a secret—even before his celebrated campaign manager pointed it out once more—that FDR could be capricious, headstrong, spiteful, ungenerous and lacking in candor. There is no doubt that he was often exasperating. But it is also clear, if only on Farley's evidence, that a basic difference in political philosophy was the more important cause of the historic falling out.

Both men, of course, were consummate politicians, but Roosevelt, for all his artfulness, saw political parties as instruments for carrying out important social policies, while Farley looked on the policies as instruments for advancing party success. Clearly he had no understanding of, or sympathy for, the New Deal, and he supported it as long as he did only out of loyalty to the Administration to which he belonged.

His idea of a really fine Democrat was John Nance Garner, and, while he preferred Hull because he felt he had a greater vote-getting capacity, he would have been satisfied with Garner or even Burton K. Wheeler as Democratic presidential candidate in 1940. Indeed, when Roosevelt said that if Wheeler were nominated he would vote against him, Farley was shocked.

When FDR "was trying to point out that the 1940 Democratic nominee must be a real liberal," Farley replied that what was wanted was "a real Democrat." The New Dealers, "the social welfare group," the liberals, the Wallaces and the Hopkinses, were not "real Democrats" to him, but Jesse Jones and Wheeler were.

He could see no reason why the President was bitter against the reactionary Southern Senators who were doing everything to wreck his program. They were the "real Democrats," and most of the New Dealers who were fighting for the Roosevelt reforms were interlopers. Farley saw great harm in Administration speeches against "economic oligarchy" (Farley's quotation marks), and he was startled when the President told Southern voters that "there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system."

It all sounded pretty radical to Farley. He quotes with approval Garner's remark to FDR that "if it were not for your damned Dutch stubbornness, we could all do more with Congress," a statement that President Truman seems to have disproved. And one of his chief reasons against having Wallace on the 1940 ticket was that it would make it difficult to attract financial support for the Democratic campaign. His idea of a good vice-presidential candidate was Jesse Jones.

THOMAS IN THE DETROIT NEWS

"SEEING THE SIGHTS"

Political myopia. Although Farley's point of view in politics is that of the realist, the evidence of his book is that perhaps he lacked something of Roosevelt's more objective practicality. He is not one given to seeing his own limitations. Never a man to deny or soft-pedal the unquestionable fact that he was extremely popular as a person throughout the United States, he was enough impressed by the popularity to feel the stirrings of his own political ambitions, and he blames Roosevelt for standing in his way. He puts it bluntly: "Had it

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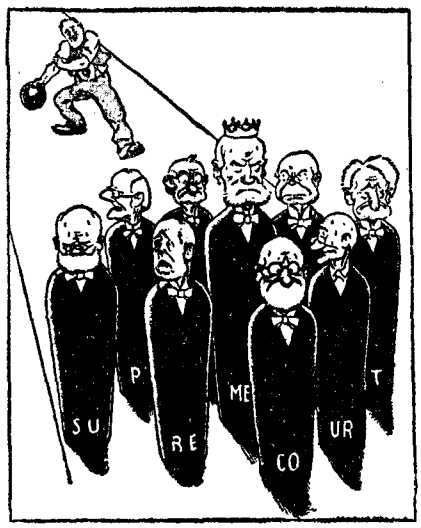

DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER

A NETHERLANDS VIEW OF FDR'S SUPREME COURT ISSUE

not been for the man many have credited me with putting in the White House, I might have been Vice President or even President." It is Farley's firm belief that Roosevelt deviously did everything possible to wreck his candidacy, even going so far as to bring up his Catholicism against him.

He keeps emphasizing that the President rarely showed the proper gratitude for his selfless work, and he repeats the already quoted and still unbelievable remark attributed to Mrs. Roosevelt—and denied by her—that "Franklin finds it hard to relax with people who aren't his social equals."

It naturally never seems to have entered Farley's mind that Roosevelt's opposition to his candidacy may have been due to his realistic understanding that James A. Farley, despite his ability and popularity, had neither the equipment, the understanding nor the liberal political philosophy necessary to be a satisfactory candidate for the presidency at such a crucial time. Furthermore, FDR may have realized, if his aide did not, that Farley's popularity as a man and as a candidate might bear little relation to each other.

Front man. As for Roosevelt's ingratitude, it may be remembered that, in his autobiography, *You're the Boss,* Edward J. Flynn, another long-term political associate of both men, cast a rather different light. It was his contention that, instead of being the mastermind of the Roosevelt campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1932, Farley was merely selected by Roosevelt and Flynn as a genial front man and official handshaker to travel through the country, make contacts with politicians and charm the voters.

Flynn's further testimony was that FDR honestly felt it was a mistake for Farley to aspire to the presidency or vice-presidency "without first creating a background of statesmanship" and that FDR really wanted him to run for Governor of New York in 1938, so that "when the convention came around in 1940, he would have been in a position to be seriously considered." Flynn is sure that the President was sincere and did not plan on a third term: two points on which Farley shows skepticism and bitterness.

This bitterness seems less and less under control as the book goes along. Al Smith and Cordell Hull are quoted in blistering comments on Roosevelt's selfishness and untrustworthiness. The President is even blamed for the delay in defense preparations. Then there is the usual insistence that a mess was made of the postwar world because at Teheran and Yalta FDR was "physically and mentally tired," despite the evidence that, even as a dying man, he handled world relationships more skillfully than leaders presumably in good health do today. *Jim Farley's Story* is not devastating as a picture of Roosevelt. Unfortunately it is—as a picture of Farley.

PEACE WITHOUT TEARS

HOW TO STOP THE RUSSIANS WITHOUT WAR, by Fritz Sternberg (The John Day Company; $2).

FRITZ STERNBERG'S prescription for peace proceeds from a one-sentence hypothesis to a conclusion which can also be stated in one sentence.

Hypothesis: "The aim of Russian policy is unmistakable—the enlargement of the Russian orbit."

Conclusion: Soviet expansion can be stopped without war only if the United States helps the 1.5 billion people of Europe and Asia to become a "third force" for peace—if, in other words, the power of the United States is placed squarely behind democratic socialism in Europe and behind the forces which seek to liberate Asia from agrarian feudalism.

Third Force. The hypothesis may be dogmatic and oversimplified. But the conclusion is well documented and forcefully, if somewhat repetitiously, stated and developed. Sternberg maintains that the danger of war rests less upon what may happen inside Russia or inside the United States than upon what happens among the 1.5 billion Asiatics and Europeans who are "on the march." They are on the march in Asia toward independence from colonial exploitation and emancipation from feudal oppression. They are on the march in Europe toward a parallel emancipation from the remnants of feudal landownership and toward the creation of a socio-economic order which preserves the political freedoms created by middle-class libertarianism while erecting upon the ruins of a middle-class economy the planned structure of democratic socialism.

Russian expansion can and will be stopped, says Sternberg, if the United States changes its present policy of backing the remnants of the old order to a policy of assisting the forces of progress. Reaction cannot maintain itself in Europe or in Asia even if we place behind it the full weight of our great power. Restoration of the old order will merely choke off the emergence of the vitally needed "third force" for peace and prepare the ground for a Communist assumption of power throughout both continents.

The author cites Germany and China as the most crucial points where an immediate change of American policy is essential. In Germany, Sternberg thinks that it is still possible to redeem the damage done by the "absurd" Morgenthau Plan—if we withdraw our present opposition to the socialization of heavy industry and our present support of the industrial barons. In the eyes of Europeans, Germany is the test of our intentions.

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Similarly, in China our backing of the corrupt and anti-democratic right wing of the Kuomintang leaves the Communists a monopoly on land reform—and land reform is the most powerful magnet of political attraction in Asia.

Urgent questions. Sternberg's major recommendations coincide with the views of most "liberals" in this country. This reviewer, for one, has advocated much the same change, without, however, feeling quite so certain that the solution of the present world crisis is essentially or solely a matter of stopping Soviet expansion. Is it not conceivable that there are causes contributing to the crisis other than the Russian desire to enlarge the Soviet orbit? And may not this Soviet desire itself be in part the result of the present state of world affairs rather than the sole origin?

Moreover, granted that Soviet expansion must be stopped, surely there is a broader goal for American foreign policy beyond this purely negative immediate objective. Surely there is the need for finding a way in which ultimately Russia and the West may live at peace together—and not just because a "third force" creates a new but still precarious balance of power. Beyond the much needed "third force," we must, in this reviewer's opinion, envision the creation of a single supranational force embodied in world law and world government if peace is at last to be assured. Sternberg goes no further than a united Europe.

One could wish he had applied the same analysis to the motivations for Russian expansionism that he has applied to the aspirations of Europe and Asia. He tells us convincingly why the Germans in the Ruhr want their industries socialized and why the Chinese long to free themselves from feudal landlords. But he does not tell us whether he thinks the Russians want to expand their orbit because they want to conquer the world or because they are afraid of being conquered.

One could also wish that Sternberg had carried his inquiry a little further into the realm of power politics in Greece, Turkey and the Middle East. There is, after all, a purely strategic aspect to the world crisis which has to do with nationalism rather than with the socio-economic revolution and which cannot be solved without a fundamental change in the concept of national sovereignty.

Perhaps such criticism is unfair to a book that, after all, does not pretend to go beyond the limited framework of its title. Within that frame of reference the author has presented a convincing argument for an enlightened and progressive approach to the immediate problems of Europe and Asia.

War no alternative. Beyond this, Sternberg has made an original and extremely interesting contribution. He deals here with the relative war potentials of the United States and the USSR. He shows that the Soviet Union does not want war with us, is not prepared for it and cannot hope ever to be prepared adequately for it unless it first absorbs into its orbit the productive power of most of Europe. He demonstrates that the United States could hardly fail to win a war against the Soviet Union. And then he shows what would happen to us if we did win such a war. This is something which every American citizen should understand.

Sternberg's inescapable conclusion, that war is no longer an acceptable alternative—that victory in war would mean defeat—is a brilliant essay which could well stand alone and which deserves wider attention than it is likely to receive as a middle chapter in this book. JAMES P. WARBURG

DRAWING BY HARRY DYE

II

PUT YOURSELF IN MARSHALL'S PLACE, by James P. Warburg (Simon and Schuster; $1).

JAMES WARBURG has written an admirable history of the events which have led to the deep trouble of the postwar world. It will help readers to understand what has happened, and why, much better than they can by relying on their memories or on day-to-day speeches or editorials. The publishers are trying to gain a large circulation for it; I hope they succeed.

The author is right, I believe, at almost every point in selecting those

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decisions which made things worse. They were made not only by Russia, but by the United States, the British and the French. But it is not clear that in every case a better alternative existed. For instance, Warburg regrets that the Big Four did not decide on a joint occupation of Germany instead of dividing it into zones. If the Security Council is a test of four-power coöperation, the ruin of German economy would have been complete under joint occupation. Statesmen often have only an opportunity to choose the lesser evil. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to understand the consequences of what was done.

Point of view. Some of the recommendations flow inescapably from Warburg's version of history. We shall fail if we do not give enough support to European recovery, or do not sufficiently enlarge German production (under appropriate guarantees). The Morgenthau Plan was a fantastic miscalculation, and though it was not adopted, its influence has done nothing but harm. We shall fail if we do not encourage trade between Eastern and Western Europe. We shall fail if we try to impose, as a condition of our economic help, an abstention from planning.

I am not so sure that his analysis of Russian motives is correct: that a general Russo-American understanding was ever possible after V-J Day, or that it will be possible before the struggle for European recovery is decided. I doubt that Communist policy is determined by any fear of military attack in the near future, and I believe that its fear of attack in the distant future is a fixed dogma impossible for us to alter before that future arrives. It seems obvious by this time that while the Soviet government may compromise when its advantage lies in that course, it will see no such advantage so long as it can expand the boundaries of its control or influence by noncoöperation or political aggression. Our mistakes provide the opportunity for Soviet successes.

We can gain the chance for peaceable agreement only by winning decisively the political competition for the confidence of peoples, the more important of whom are not under Russian military domination and are in little danger of coming under it unless we provoke a war. While Warburg is right that economic aid is necessary to this end, I wish he had laid even more stress on the importance of coöperating with the truly democratic forces in other nations instead of thwarting them, as our government has so often done. There would be no surer way to present the world to Russia on a sizzling platter than to attempt to install everywhere the "American system of free enterprise" by support of social and economic reactionaries.

GEORGE SOULE

ARS MEDICA

BODIES AND SOULS, by Maxence Van Der Meersch. Translated by Eithne Wilkins (Pellegrini and Cudahy; $3.75).

THE NOVEL published under this all-inclusive title is an account of the science and practice of medicine in France before the war. In hospitals, clinics, insane asylums, private nursing homes, lecture rooms and laboratories, a welter of doctors, students, nurses, technicians and patients of every description flicker through a catalogue of ailments and malpractices summed up as "mistakes, adultery, syphilis, abortions and murders." Balanced, of course, by incidents of heroism and careers of devotion to research and practical medicine.

I don't think I've ever seen a book in which so many characters are named, most of them to appear for only a page or two and then to sink from sight and memory. There are a number of "principal characters" (forty-three are listed "in order of appearance" at the beginning of the book), but their professional activities don't begin to animate the enormous bulk of the novel.

Nevertheless, to readers as fascinated as the author by the medical profession, the interest of the book will be found in its digressions and unrelated detail. Innumerable experiments, diagnoses, treatments, operations and childbirths are minutely described. I lost count of the autopsies. A separate volume could be made of the politics among the established doctors and the aspiring young men "condemned to wish for an older man's death in order to climb up another rung of the ladder." Thoroughly treated is the racket of private nursing homes which exploits the hypochondria of the rich or pampers them with "cosmetic surgery" or illegal operations. The odor of ether and antiseptics rises from the pages, while the medical students cavort among the cadavers.

Nothing but life. Brooding over this lore is the author, who asserts that "a medical truth does exist, knowledge of which will bring salvation to those who suffer. And above all the writer's mission is to serve that knowledge and to hasten its fulfilment." Leaving aside the dubious account of the "writer's mission," it is difficult to understand how the author, in this novel, serves any "medical truth." What he *does* make clear is his own concept of the profession. Put simply (or even crudely), the doctor who is less than a hero is a heel. His profession is a semi-religious vocation, a scientific practice which must recognize "that if a man wishes to remain human he needs something more than science."

This "something more" is a concept of human dignity derived, one gathers, from the Christian faith, but described explicitly here only as the "hope of human perfectibility." As for the practice of those men who lack this concept, "we call it science, and it's really vanity." The emptiness of their vocation "was shown in their melancholy, something like depression, the disillusion and vague rather disappointed bitterness with which they looked at life." Or to put it once more: "Anyone who believes in nothing but life . . . does not believe in anything."

It is the misfortune of this book that what are commonly described as obvious truths appear in this context even more than usually obvious, but at the same time somehow less true.

JOHN FARRELLY

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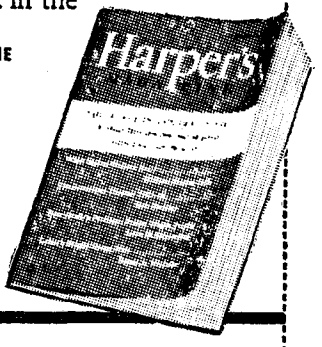

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RADIO: Troupe of Acrobats

Washington, D. C.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT radio program of the year had its debut in the first week of March. Insisting they have a right to editorialize, America's broadcasters played their charade with sound before the Federal Communications Commission. But the men who control the most brilliant pool of air talent in the world made a fiasco of their production.

On the whole, the broadcasters had a public-be-damned field day. This was the hearing to debate the future of the FCC's famous Mayflower decision of 1941, forbidding editorialization on the air. For nearly five years there had been scarcely a protest against the decision. Then Justin Miller, a former federal judge who got his training as a tough district attorney in California —a sort of Golden Gate Dewey—accepted the $50,000-a-year job as president of the National Association of Broadcasters. Things began to happen. One of them was a demand upon the FCC for revocation of the Mayflower rule. This hearing is a result.

The broadcasters thought they could afford to act as they pleased because the show was not going out on the air where they might be censured by their 100 million customers. They addressed themselves to the seven communications commissioners, whom they set out to treat as kids. They overplayed their hand, with the result that their toughness must have had a salutary educational effect. Consider this bit of dialogue:

Q. You said there should be no regulation . . . which requires a broadcaster to observe the doctrine of fair play with respect to the presentation of views over his radio station. . . . Is that a correct interpretation of what you said?

A. Yes, I would say so.

The query here came from Wayne Coy, bright, brand-new chairman of the commission charged with licensing and regulating broadcasting. This was his public-hearing baptism. The witness was the first to take the stand, and his candor must have had the effect of a dousing bucketful of ice water tossed at the presiding novice.

Observing the amenities of chairmanship, Coy did not appear to gasp. It was just as well, for the curtain raiser, spoken by Mark Woods, president of the ABC network, was repeated by Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS; reprised by Niles Trammell, president of NBC; brought in again by W. Theodore Pierson, of counsel for 18 broadcasters.

"Untenable." Miller himself did not show up at the FCC hearing, and directives from headquarters were no longer necessary. One network lobbyist here, a candid soul, said of the performance: "They could not possibly have arrived so unanimously at such uniformly untenable positions without previous consultation."

The positions of the big broadcasters are untenable because their real objective is not allowed to emerge. Spieling wisdom on the air is only incidental to them: they want to take all program-regulating powers from the FCC. That is why Stanton would prefer to trust the broadcasters to "live up to their obligations" without government interference.

Fortunately, there were other spokesmen who did not agree with the Miller line. Two of these were broadcasters —Nathan Straus, president of WMCA, New York; and Professor Robert E. Cushman, of Cornell, who appeared on behalf of the university's Station WHCU, Ithaca, New York. Some of us did not particularly care for the Straus-Cushman proposals either. They wanted the "right" to editorialization, but they were willing not only to give the opposition a break but also to let the government be umpire.

Straus, further, would deny the "right" to the networks, and he would permit a person who owns more than one radio station to editorialize only in the city of his residence. These two men, appearing, as one witness said, in the "effulgence of respectability"—since both are highly responsible broadcasters—broke the broadcasters' ranks but did not greatly assist those who are trying to forestall the Miller-NAB type of radio anarchy.

The opposition. Every labor union in the broadcasting field—including actors, writers, directors, announcers, singers, musicians, engineers and technicians—opposed revocation of the Mayflower rule. Thoroughly at home in radio's vineyards, they want the FCC to retain, even to enlarge, official interest in programming.

Fiery James Lawrence Fly, who was chairman of the FCC when the Mayflower doctrine was laid down, defended the principles involved and tore into those who would make the FCC "an electrical traffic cop," concerned solely with technicalities. A brilliant, incisive but tempered paper was read by Charles A. Seipmann, the New York University professor who is the ogre of the broadcasting industry. He worked briefly for the FCC a few years ago, helping draft the "blue book" in which the commission criticized radio's commercial feast and public-service famine. I did my bit, concentrating on Stanton's semantics.

Since William S. Paley, chairman of the CBS board, had spoken out of turn some years back, denying before the FCC that radio resembled newspapers as far as "freedom of speech" is concerned and making other concessions to what is now the anti-Miller side, Stanton had to do a lot of verbal acrobatics to justify his network's change of heart.

To explain CBS's switch, Stanton said that Paley had spoken during a period when there was indeed scarcity of frequencies. Now, however, Stanton said the scarcity is over—and he cited the large number of new radio stations licensed recently by the FCC. Under cross-examination, however, he admitted that this new look of abundance does not apply to television. I was able to point up this and other discrepancies in Stanton's statistics. Other wit-

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nesses made hash of his fancy charts.

As the week continued, so did the talk-talk. Most of it, by this time, was on the public's side, against the Miller-network advocacy of air editorialization. Miller stayed in his lair, deferring his appearance until the April 19 session. He had apparently figured on coming in late, to mop up. He may have to sweep up the pieces instead.

It is most unlikely that the FCC will accept proposals that would amount to committing suicide. Had the broadcasters promised fairness, they might have put on a good show and stood a chance of winning Mayflower revocation. Some of us here were sure that their performance was a flop. But the critic who counts is the FCC.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Roundup

THE ETHICS of reviewing prevents me from saying anything at all about the story of "To the Ends of the Earth" for fear of giving away some of the amazements on which it is strung. But if work in the Narcotics Branch of the Treasury Department measures up generally to this account, the agents must wonder at the humdrum lives of the comic-book heroes.

The film not only vibrates with thrills, it carries a message: that only coöperation by a little international band of dedicated men can wipe out the poppy traffic, and that this kind of supra-national teamwork might well be applied to other world problems. The picture opens and closes at Lake Success—a bit of symbolism that would be more encouraging if we could all forget how well the League of Nations fought the dope habit. The sovereign states agree readily enough on the desirability of discouraging trade in opium and women, but the fraternal spirit somehow fails to spread.

Dick Powell plays the narcotics sleuth with relaxed competence and a minimum show of force; the film contains practical hints on poppy culture and opium brewing.

Drop the handkerchief. Good entertainment while you're watching it, "A Double Life" turns sour in retrospect. There is something at once hackneyed and psychologically pretentious about the theme of an actor who becomes so saturated in his roles that he carries their motivations into his own life. It's an idea that must be handled with unusual insight and originality or else played as slapstick. Ronald Colman, as an Othello who can't keep his hands off the throats of pretty girls, succeeds only in being obvious.

Reprint. The sole valid reason for producing a new screen version of *Crime and Punishment* would be to improve on the now classic French version. The current Swedish treatment is a creditable film which pitches the story on a more rational, everyday level than "Crime et Châtiment," and loses thereby even more of the pity and terror of Dostoevsky's novel. It comes close to being just crime and punishment.

On the plane at which they are working, there is little to criticize in the sound performances of Hampe Faustman as Raskolnikov and Sigurd Wallen as Samiotov, the police inspector, but their interpretations simply do not stand comparison with the passionate understanding Pierre Blanchar and Harry Baur brought to those roles.

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THEATER: The Assassins

CRY MURDER from the housetops: a play has been done to death. The play is J. B. Priestley's "The Linden Tree" and the assassins are the same old cutthroats, the daily reviewers.

The tragedy is not great, because the play is far from great. It is not as though "The Cherry Orchard" had been damned or "Saint Joan" hooted off the stage. But it was a thoughtful and honest play, written out of a decent and intelligent concern for the world we live in, and it deserved the hospitality of our boards.

Through the story of a mild-mannered, humanistic professor at a mediocre English university, the victim of a plot by his family, which loves him, and his superiors, who dislike him, Priestley exposes for us a great deal of the texture of English life today. The plot is concerned with getting the old man to retire. The vice-chancellor, one of the modern, conveyor-belt "educationalizers," has no use for the stubborn individualism of the literary-history professor. And his family, representing, somewhat too neatly, the various forces in present-day English life, wish to preserve the old man's health and get him away from the dreary campus.

In the course of the arguments which make up the play, we get, against the heartbreaking shabbiness and privation of postwar England, a thorough airing of the philosophies that are warring now for the soul of the world. But it is all done quietly, in library tones, and that is perhaps why our violence-stricken critics rejected it.

Genealogy. Represented among the branches of the Linden tree is a cynical ex-soldier, bereaved of all faith and hope, who, while waiting for the Bomb to fall, spends his time in selfish, anti-social pleasure. There is the daughter who has turned Catholic and gone with her titled husband to yearn in France for a warm, medieval, well mannered peace. A second daughter works as a doctor in an impoverished London hospital, keeping herself going despite overwork, ugliness and malnutrition by a cold and theoretical belief in the disciplined society of the Communists. And there is the youngest daughter, too young, healthy and too much in love with the world to be captured in any doctrinaire trap.

Professor Linden acts as a kind of mediator and confessor among these conflicting views. Bred in the best tradition of individual liberty and individual responsibility, looking back lovingly to the past and ahead hopefully to the future, he asserts the stubborn necessity of optimism. If none of the arguments is particularly deep, they are all accurate, and the total effect is real, warmhearted and unsentimentally encouraging.

Dearth. The play suffers from poor casting and acting. Boris Karloff, with the monsters behind him, is transparently sincere—but the eloquence and charm of Professor Linden elude him. Barbara Everest, as his wife, corrupted into surrender by her hatred of the drabness around her, is empty in a role which should seem full and enormously pathetic.

Halliwell Hobbes Jr. plays the ex-soldier son as though he thought he were in a Noel Coward musical comedy; and Cathleen Cordell, dressed in one of the most hideous costumes seen on the stage this year, robs the character of the convert to feudalism of all the grace which the author obviously intended her to have.

In peripheral parts, where they cannot do much good, Una O'Connor as an independent, blitz-happy maid of all work, and Mary Kimber as a drab, sorrowful history student, bring the play to life. By remembering what the play sounded like when these people were on the stage you could get an inkling of what it might have been if the major parts were equally well done.

IRWIN SHAW

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CORRESPONDENCE

Benjamin Banneker

SIR: Your informative and enjoyable article on Benjamin Banneker (the *NR*, February 2) brought to my mind a fact that I had almost forgotten. I note that the article ends with the words: "Nothing has been done since to honor his name." But may I bring it to your attention that the grade-school for Negro children in Bloomington, Indiana, is called Banneker School—or at least was so called when it was first built about the time of World War I. There may be other schools so named in other American towns; it would be interesting to know how many.

Gambier, Ohio MRS. RUTH K. FINK

The Douglas Story

SIR: It is foolish to debate the proven liberalism of Paul Douglas. Nationally known for a generation as a courageous and outspoken fighter for fairer labor practices who has clearly indicated his dislike of the Taft-Hartley bill, an architect of the social-security system, called by Presidents to direct national union-management conferences, fearless defender of civil liberties and active in organizations trying to solve our acute housing problem, Paul Douglas today, as always, ranks as one of the leading liberals in the country. . . .

For eight years Illinois has been saddled with one of the most reactionary Senators in Washington, hand-picked by Colonel McCormick and carefully mirroring his views on foreign policy. We have an excellent chance to unseat C. Wayland Brooks this year. Yet we are told not only that some liberals cannot wholeheartedly support Paul Douglas, but also that they must run a candidate of their own. And then, in a fit of conscience, we are told that Douglas can't win anyway, so what difference does it make whether there is a third candidate or not. This is where I throw up my hands.

Your correspondent's contention (the *NR*, February 16) that the Democratic Party has agreed "to sell Douglas down the river" is absolutely without foundation. To justify a move which could lead to the reëlection of Senator Brooks on this feeble premise is the most specious of reasoning. As an alderman of the City of Chicago and close observer of the Democratic Party in Illinois, I can say unequivocally that there is absolutely no evidence on which any fair-minded observer can contend there is a deal to elect Mr. Brooks. Nobody but a naïve amateur could possibly say that the Democratic Party in Illinois, led by State Chairman George Kells and County Chairman Jacob Arvey, will do anything but give Paul Douglas its full and wholehearted support. . . .

No doubt some people, from both Right and Left, will continue to oppose Mr. Douglas, ostensibly for his stand on the Marshall Plan; they cannot, however, sell the people of Illinois the idea that Paul Douglas is not a fighting liberal. We know him too well for that.

Chicago, Ill. ROBERT E. MERRIAM

[Whether or not it is foolish to debate the liberalism of Paul Douglas, the fact remains that Illinois political factions are debating it. The *New Republic*, however, was not taking part in that argument when it reported Progressive Party opposition to Douglas' candidacy. The article in question reaffirms the unquestionable fact of his liberal record; it reports the equally unquestionable facts that a critical minority in the Illinois political scene questions the fervor of that liberalism and charges Douglas with becoming part of a conservative machine.

The editors are delighted to announce that Douglas, now campaigning, plans to write for the *New Republic* a statement of his views on domestic and international issues. We hope that it will appear shortly.—THE EDITORS]

Verb. Sap.

SIR:

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DANCE: Artistic Calvinist

WITH MARTHA GRAHAM the Puritan conscience has taken possession of the dance, giving that traditionally hedonistic art a moral fervor it has seldom known in modern times. The dancing of Miss Graham and her company is rigorous in its demands on an audience. Even her recent nationwide publicity as Miss Hush was not quite enough to fill the little Maxine Elliott Theater completely for all 14 performances of her New York season, in the face of competition from Alexandra Danilova and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.

The first sight of Miss Graham and her group is likely to prove something of a shock. Conspicuously missing are the short skirts and shapely legs of ballet; the gleaming, polished decorum of performers schooled to present themselves as Beautiful People; the elaborately painted stage settings, and the stock of pirouettes, entrechats and arabesques that enable the connoisseur to judge the accomplishments of each dancer. Instead there are women in severe floor-length dresses, men without narcissistic pose, a few nameless sculptured objects relieving an otherwise bare stage, and contorted movements of questionable pictorial value. Clearly it is an art directed toward initiates only.

Tradition and result. But Martha Graham is not the leader of a cult. She is, rather, an artist of almost unique self-discipline who has completely restated the purpose of dancing.

Miss Graham is the third in a great line of creative American dancers. Around the turn of the century, Isadora Duncan broke away vigorously from the canons of ballet. She insisted that dancing should be a free expression of personal emotion and not a mere reiteration of accepted steps and formulas; and although she obscured her point with pseudo-Greek affectations, she nevertheless dared to dance with her whole body, including the torso, which ballet dancers try to keep as neutral as possible.

In the next decade Ruth St. Denis, with her partner Ted Shawn, concerned herself more with externals of style and content than with basic technique, though it would be wrong to imply that she and the members of the Denishawn company were not good dancers. This was the eclectic stage of American dance, in which everything exotic—particularly American Indian and Oriental—was used to enrich the subject matter and the presentation.

As the Denishawn repertory became steadily lusher, some of the young members of the company began to feel a need to get back to first principles, to strip the trappings away. Several of them soon left the protection of Miss Ruth; Charles Weidman and Doris Humphrey went their way in partnership, and Martha Graham went hers alone. This was the grim phase of the modern dance in general, and of Miss Graham in particular.

Perfectionism. Louis Horst, who has been Martha Graham's musical director for many years, likes to call it the "revolting" period. Nothing counted in those days except the discovery and development of "pure dance"—dance which would be concerned not with telling a story or making pictures, but simply with dancing. During these years Miss Graham was exploring the complete range of movement which could be demanded of her body, or of any other trained female body. Despite public neglect and virtual starvation, she remained unswerving in her purpose, refusing to let worldly temptations distract her.

Dancing, to Martha Graham, is the direct communication of emotion by means of bodily movement. Through unconventional contractions and releases, extensions, falls, rolls on the floor, quick changes of direction and focus—and a host of other technical devices—she conveys state of the mind and the soul which, as semantics shows, often cannot be projected unambiguously in words. Her dancing is primarily intended to say something, not to look well. When you understand what it is saying, it often begins to look well also.

Full mastery. In the last ten years, Miss Graham has been sure of both her aim and her technical vocabulary. She has added men to her group, feeling that she now knows the essential differences between male and female movement. And she has been able, at last, to think about presenting her dance ideas in terms that are theatrically effective. The sculptor Isamu Noguchi has aided her by devising decors which have no conflicting literal meaning of their own, and which are more pertinent than painted scenery; they are three-dimensional, and Miss Graham and her company can dance over, around and into them, incorporating them into unified compositions.

In the past three years Miss Graham has turned to Greek legend in three successive pieces designed to present ancient conflicts in modern and universal terms. The first of these, "Cave of the Heart," portrays Medea as a woman under compulsion to destroy those she loved; the second, "Errand into the Maze," based on the battle between Theseus and the Minotaur, shows her battling and overcoming a subliminal Creature of Fear. The newest, "Night Journey" (greatly revised since its première last May at Harvard), tells the Oedipus story from the point of view of Jocasta in the awesome moment when she has foreknowledge of her fate. CECIL SMITH

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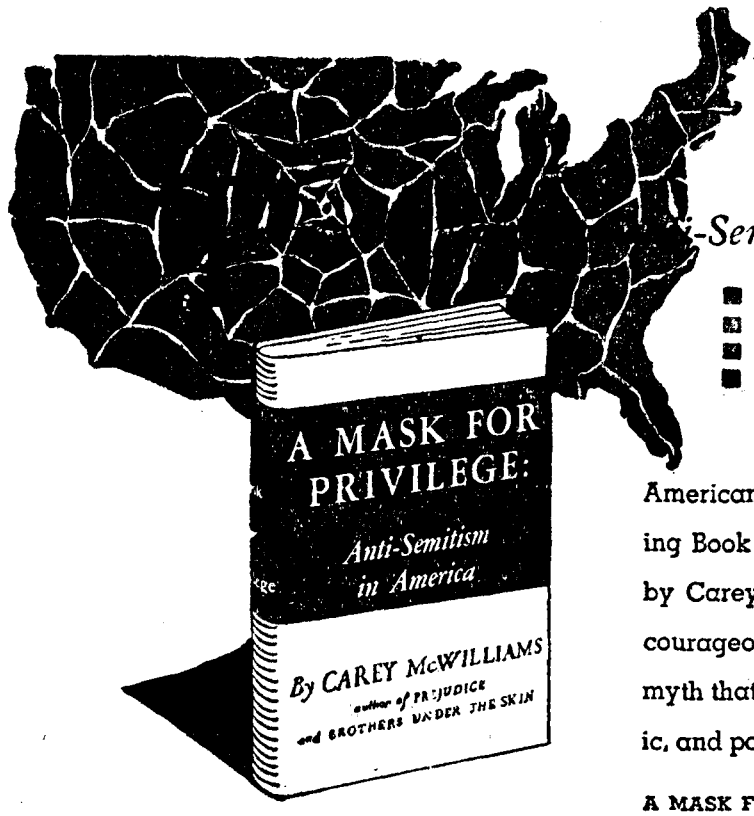

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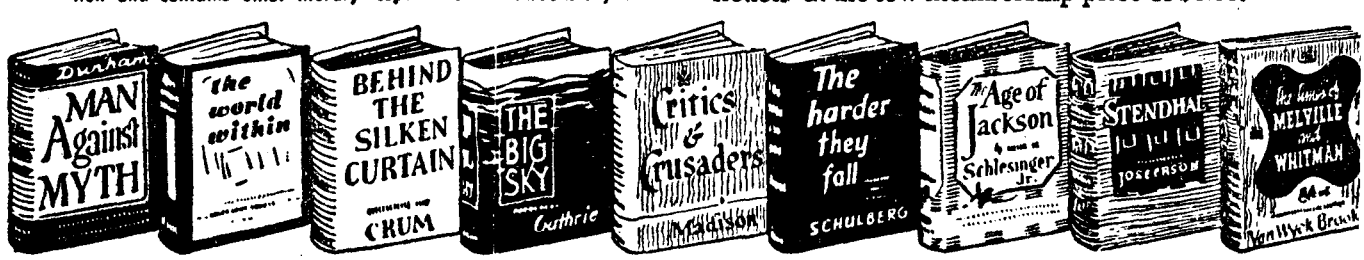

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